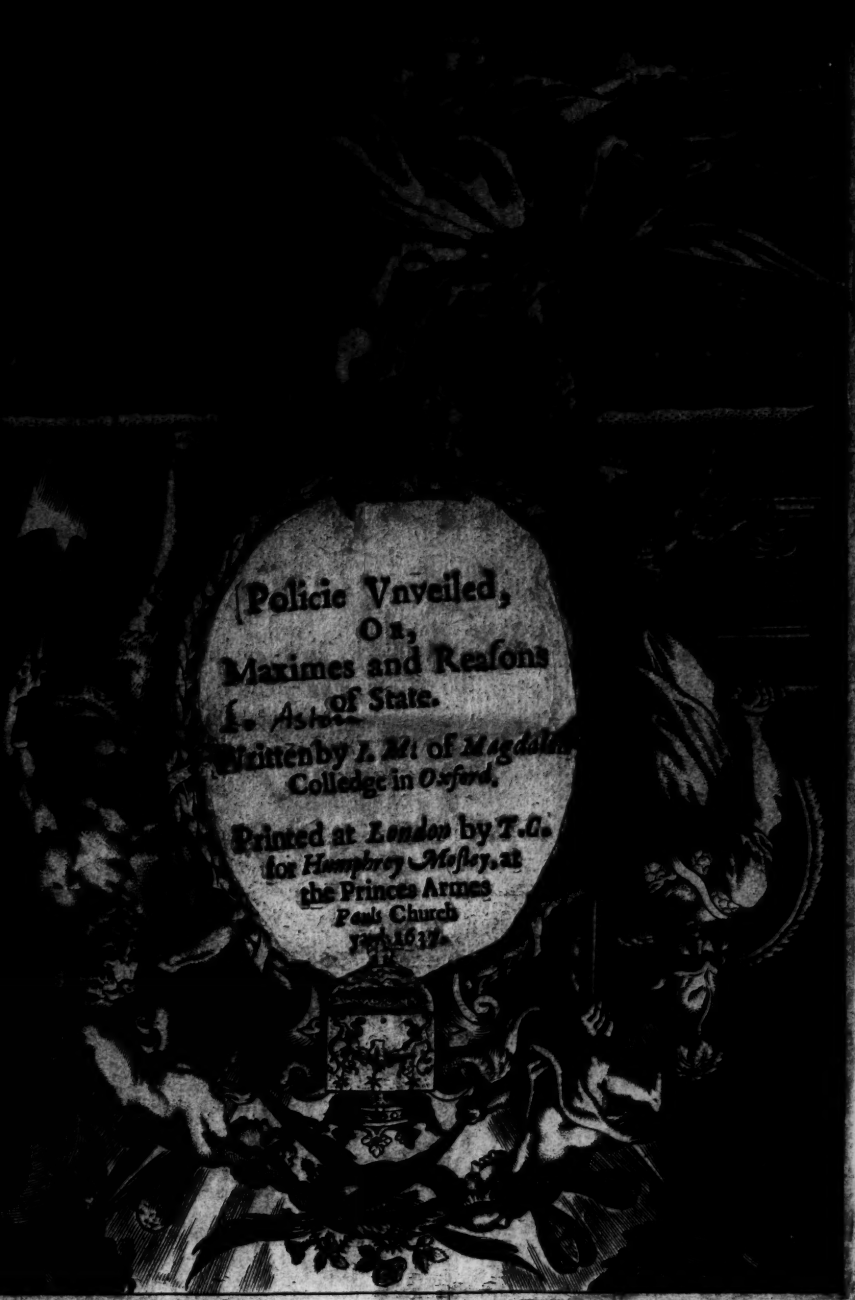

Policie Vnveiled,
Or,
Maximes and Reasons
of State.
Written by I. H. of Magdalen
Colledge in Oxford.
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for Humphrey Mosley, at
the Princes Armes
Pauls Church
yard. 1639.

Politic Unveiled,

Or,

Maximes and Reasons

of State.

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TO THE RIGHT HONOVRABLE, SIR *DVDLEY CARLETON*, Knight, Baron of *Ember-court*, and Viſcount of *Dorcheſter*, Principall Secretarie to our Soueraigne Lord King CHARLES, and one of his Maieſties moſt Honourable Priuie Councell.

Right Honourable:

KNowing no man better verſt in publique affayres, then your ſelfe, I could not more fitly addreſſe this Diſcourſe, then to you, without the rifling of any particular mans merit: for I

may aſcribe as much to the praiſe of your exercise, as any can aſſume to his priuate Notions, or Publique Obſeruations. To ſpeake the ſtory of your true and ingenious acts in forraigne, (and in thoſe forraigne, the moſt ſubtile and actiue parts) would rather ſeeme a Tract, then a Dedication of a Booke; but here you are onely Patron, though I know you might by your naturall gifts and obſeruations, be Author of a farre better piece. You haue been long the intruſted ſeruant of your Prince, which ſhould emply you the darling of his people, and truely you ought to bee ſo, whilſt Truth relates the ſtory of deſeruing men, or Honeſty reades their merit. What, and whoſe worke of politique gouernement this is, your eyes may at leyſure looke ouer, while your quicker eyes, I meane, your diſcerning minde, may perhaps correct, yet (I hope) not chide his labour, who was willing, though not able, to ſerue you in a

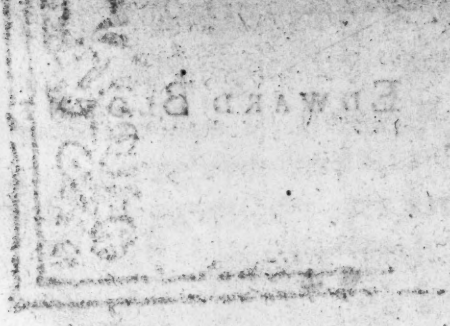
piece

piece worthy your obſeruation. If in the tranſlation there be any thing that hath forſaken the Originall, it was intention, and not negligence, of which there needs no accompt.

My good Lord, there is nothing left, but to implore your pardon for the preferring this worke; which if it ſhall appeare vnworthy your graue peruſall, yet at the leaſt, forgiue his intention, who conceiued it a direct way of expreſsing himſelfe to be

Your Honours truely deuoted,

EDWARD BLOVNT.



THE AVTHORS EPISTLE DEDICATORIE to the King of SPAINE.

Sir,

THe cauſe why the Ancients by fire ſignifie Loue, is, for that this Element is the hardeſt to be hid: For the more a man ſeekes to couer it, the more it diſcouers it ſelfe, and blabbs the place, where it is. Of this quality is Loue, and truly participateth of the nature of fire. I came (ſaith our Sauiour Chriſt) to put fire into the world. And the holy Ghoſt, which is the true God of Loue, came and ſhewed it ſelfe in the ſhape and figure of fire. So that Loue is a kinde of extraordinary actiue fire. Nor can it, where ſoeuer it be, be hid, or idle. Operatur magna, ſi eſt, (*ſaith Saint* Gregory) ſi autem non operatur, amor non eſt. *Loue will be alwayes in action, alwayes in working; it worketh by benefits, it worketh*

worketh by good workes, and by friendly offices, and charitable seruices: And when it cannot worke what it would, or when the subiect whereon it would worke, hath no need thereof, it supplyeth that defect with good desires, and words. God, who needeth not the seruice of any, contents himselfe with this in those that are his seruants, accepting (when they can no more) the will, for the deed. And the Kings, which here vpon earth represent his person, doe not require tribute and seruice, saue onely in that, which euery one is able to giue. That which I am able to afford, and doe here offer vnto your Maiestie, forced thereunto by the loue of my seruice, (howbeit my desire hath euermore had a larger extent) is onely a parcell of words; which if they proceed from the soule, and come truly and sincerely from the heart, are of some worth and estimation, and perhaps (vpon occasion) may proue likewise profitable and aduantagious. Howsoeuer, it may serue at least to expresse that my seruice and deuotion, which euer hath beene, is, and shall be ready prest to serue your Maiestie. And I am willing to shew it in this little, that I may not wholly seeme vnprofitable. And therefore with this affection of Loue, suitable to my subiect, ouercomming those feares which are wont (and not without reason) to withhold those that treate with great Kings, Princes, and Monarckes, and write of such and the like subiects, I presume to aduertise them, and in this paper to propone

vnto

vnto them, that which I finde written of those that are past and gone, (and seemeth very fit and conuenient for the conseruation and augmentation of the authority and greatnesse of those that are now liuing and present amongst vs) and will with all possible breuity, procure a full resolution and distinction herein: And (as Seneca saith) Totum comprehendere sub exiguo, To comprise much vnder a little. For, as that is the better sort of money, which in the matter is the lesser, but the greater in value; so likewise that Learning is the best, which is briefe in words, and large in sentences. It is Maximus his counsell, that Multa, & magna, breuiter sunt dicenda. Matters that are many and great, are briefly to be deliuered. For this breuities sake therefore, as also for the greatnesse of your Maiesties employments, and the great burthen of so many weighty businesses that lye vpon you, I will not here interpose any large discourses and long disputations, wherewith to entertaine and spend the time: but briefe, certaine, and generall Doctrines, such as are of most profit, comprehend most subiects, and may be applyed to particular, both persons and things, all taken out of the Politicks, the law of nature, and men that are Statists, and no way contrary to the Law of God, and Christian Religion: As likewise out of ancient Philosophers, and wise men, both Lawyers and Law-makers. Accompanied wholly for to giue credit to the cause, and that the subiect may

Sen. epist. 34. in princip.

Valer. Max.

not

not be diſeſteemed as an egge of mine owne hatching) with the examples of Kings and Emperours, (if the examples of Kings may moue Kings) and with thoſe which cannot but moue, bee eſteemed, and beleeued, being drawne out of the holy Scripture. Which being well obſerued and put in execution by Kings, they ſhall obtaine that end for which they were intended; To wit, to maintaine and preſerue their Kingdomes in peace and iuſtice.

Reade it therefore, I beſeech your Maieſtie, and take it to heart; for it is a piece of worke that is directed to the ſeruice of Kings, of their Fauourites and Miniſters. And let them not ſay, that they are Metaphyſicall, and impracticable things, or, in a manner, meere impoßibilities, but rather, that they are very conformable to our poßibilitie, and practiſed by our Predeceſſors, Princes of famous memory, for their wiſedome and prudence, and in Kingdomes and Common-wealths, of great Concernment, Artifice, and Policie, in matter of Gouernement, and reaſon of State. And viewing thoſe with theſe times, and that which then was, with that which now is, it will appeare vnto vs, that your preſent Princes doe not come much behinde their good Predeceſſours: And that which is good, ſtands alwayes in a way or degree of ableneſſe to become better: and that which is not ſo, may be bettered in the end. Time is a great proficient, it attaineth to all, and can doe all. And

your

your Maieſtie (whom God preſerue) may likewiſe in time doe the like, if you will really and reſolutely affect the ſame; and that you will be pleaſed to put in execution, what in theſe Aduertiſements ſhall ſeeme good in your eyes. And ſeeme they, or not ſeeme they good vnto you, ſure I am, that my deſire, in theſe, in the reſt, and in all, ſhall indeuour to hit the marke whereat it aymeth. God direct it as I deſire. For mine owne part, I reſt well contented with my paines, and hold my ſelfe well paid for my labour, in hauing put them into your Maieſties hands. And that you ſhall vouchſafe to dwell a little vpon them. For matters of State, Iuſtice, and Gouernment, and of things of this high nature, is a King-craft, and a knowledge or ſcience that deſerues your care and diſcourſe. Let others doe as they liſt; particular men may follow their particular pleaſures and delights. But this well becommeth Kings.

The Argument of this Booke, is the Head of Mans body; beginning at the vnderſtanding, till we come to the laſt of the ſenſes. For therein, and thence they haue the principium or beginning of their operations. And as in mans body, ſo in the myſticall body of a Commonwealth, Kings are the Head, to whom Regiment & Gouernment belongs; and what choyce they are to make of thoſe who are to aſſiſt them therein; the qualities which they ought to haue, and how they ſhould carry themſelues towards them. How they ſhall come to diſcouer

couer the humours, affections, mindes, and diſpoſitions of their Miniſters. And in a word, how they ought to behaue themſelues in all, and with all.

I ſearch not into the ſecret cloſet of any mans boſome, nor touch vpon any particular perſon, it being the leaſt part of my intent and purpoſe. I treate onely in the generall, and manifeſt vnto all, that what I write, being certaine and true, and grounded vpon principles and certaine cauſes, may ſerue to reforme, amend, and correct, and (if neede bee) alter thoſe faſhions and cuſtomes they finde to bee amiſſe. This I am bold to vtter vnto your Maieſtie, and dedicate the ſame with that ſecuritie and confidence, which mine owne knowledge doth promiſe and prompt vnto mee; being not ignorant, that I talke and diſcourſe with mine owne proper King and Lord, whom I humbly beſeech, that hee will bee pleaſed, out of his great prudence and naturall pietie, to runne all this ouer with his eye, and to caſt his cloake ouer my faults. And though (no doubt) his Maieſtie may meete with ſome, yet my minde telleth me, that he may likewiſe light vpon ſomething in this Treatiſe, that may be of ſome profit for the ſeruice of his Maieſtie, and for the conſeruation of that authoritie and greatneſſe of place which he ſo iuſtly poſſeſſeth, and for the good of the Commonwealth. For, there is not that Booke (ſaith Seneca) ſo vnprofitable, whence ſome good may not bee gathered. And though this in ſuppoſall, or it's owne nature, may

be

be ſmall, and of little or no price, yet is it of no leſſe noble and royall a condition, to receiue a little louingly, and with a gratious acceptance, then to giue much liberally. All this your Maieſtie doth with all, and I aſſure my ſelfe you will likewiſe doe the like with me. For the naturall Loue which I beare vnto your Maieſtie, meriteth no leſſe, nor the minde wherewithall I doe it. And herewith I ſhall in ſome ſort ſatisfie my deſire (which is to hit the marke I ayme at) and that obligation, wherewith I was borne to ſerue you, whom I ſhall neuer willingly offend. And euermore, in all my prayers, and ſacrifices, I ſhall humbly on my knees beſeech the Almighty God, to preſerue your Maieſtie, to giue you many, and thoſe moſt happie yeares, and that hee will conſerue you in his diuine grace, and humane Greatneſſe, with much augmentation of Eſtate, both Temporall and Eternall. Amen.

Your Maieſties ſeruant
and Chaplaine,

Fr. Iuan, de Sancta Maria.

A Table containing the Chapters and Paragraphes of this Booke.

Chap. 1.

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What the name of King signifieth.

Chapter 3.

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Chap. 4.

Of the Office of Kings.

Chap. 5.

Of the reason and understanding of Kings, and of their wisedome.

Chap. 6.

How Kings ought to carrie themselues in those businesses, which their understanding comprehendeth not.

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Chap.

Chap. 9.

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Chap. 13.

The Author prosecutes the same Subiect, and shewes how Kings ought to carry themselues with their Counsells and Councellours.

Chap. 14.

It is demanded by way of Question, Whether Kings aught inuiolably to obserue the foresaid Order.

Chap. 15.

Whether it be fit for Kings, to vse much the remitting of businesses.

Chap. 16.

Of the sence of the sight: that is, of those businesses which Kings ought to reserue for their owne view, and to dispatch with their owne hands.

Chap. 17.

Hee prosecuteth the same matter, and shewes, How Kings aught to carry themselues towards those that finde themselues aggrieued.

Chap. 18.

Of the sense of Hearing. And the Audiences which Kings ought to giue.

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Chap. 21.

Of the parts of Iustice in Common; and in particular of Iustice commutative.

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Par.

Parag. 5.

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The Conclusion of the former Discourse, with some Aduertisements for Kings, and Fauourites.

Chap. 37

Aduertisements for Fauourites, and Counsellours of State.

SAP: 6.v.10.

Ad vos (O Reges) sunt hi Sermones mei, vt discatis sapientiam, & non excidatis: Qui enim custodierint iusta iustè, iustificabuntur, & qui didicerint iusta, invenient quid respondeant.

VVISDOM 6.v.10.

Vnto you therefore (o Kings) doe I speake, that yee may learne VViſedome, and not goe amisse. For they that keepe holineſſe holily, ſhall be holy, and they that are learned there, ſhall finde defence.

CHAP. I.

Wherein it is breifly treated, what is comprehended in this Word, Republicke, *together with it's Definition.*

MAny, and thoſe of the graueſt ſorte, that haue beene well verſed in all kinde of Learning, haue written of a Republicke, or Common-wealth; And haue diuided, and ſub-diuided it into many and ſundry ſpecies, and defined it after diuerſe and different maners; A prolixe, and tedious buſineſſe, and full of difficulties, and farre wide of my pretenſion (which is

in few both words and reasons.) to describe a mysticall body with it's Head, and principall members, and the peculiar Offices belonging to euery one of them, leauing (to such as shall take pleasure therein) the multitude of vnprofitable Questions, the ornament of humane Eloquence, and the Magazine of prophane histories, being of little truth, & lesse efficacie. And taking thence my beginning whence all begin; To wit: from the definition, or Description. I say with *Aristotle* and *Plato*, That a Common-wealth is no other thing, saue an Order of Citizens, and Cities; in which and amongst whom, nothing is wanting, that is necessary and needefull for the life of Man. It is a iust gouernment, and disposition of many families, and of a Communitie amongst them, with a superiour authoritie ouer them. And it is a Congregation of many people vnited together, fraternized, with certaine Lawes and rules of gouernment. And, because I will not loose time in things not necessarie, I omit that gouernment, which the *Greekes* call *Aristocratia*, which is the gouernment of the Nobility, as it is with the Signorie of *Venice*. And your *Democratia*, which is popular, and consistes of the Many, as that of *Genoa*, and the Cantons of the *Switz*. Which (though approued by many) haue their inconueniences, and those no small ones. For the Nobilitie, and powerfull persons, if they not persеuere in the obseruance of the Lawes of good gouernment, they presently grow to be couetous, and are much subiect to Ambition. And because they are but a few, they feare the multitude; and for to conserue themselues, exercise cruelty; whereby in the ende it turnes to a Tyrannie. For (as *Mecœnas* saith.) The state of a few Lords, is the state of a few Tyrants. And he that is the most powerfull, the most ambitious, and best befriended, and respected of the people, vpon the least dissension, ioynes with the multitude, which being it is naturally enuious, mutable and a friend to innouation, will with a great deale of facilitie ouerthrow the Common-wealth. And say, the Nobles do not side,

Arist. lib. 3. Polit. cap 1. lib. 4. cap. 1.

ſide, but agree amongſt themſelues, yet cannot they but liue in feare of the infidelitie of the Vulgar; for ordinarily, thoſe that haue a hand in the gouernment, are more enuied, then thoſe that haue none at al. Beſides, it is a weake kind of gouernment, nor is it poſſible, that theſe few Lords, can in large, conquer, & conſerue a great Empire, as can a King, or a Monarke, becauſe the forces are leſſe vnited in them, then in him. And the people which is little intereſſed, & hath no ſhare or part in thoſe honourable places, carry a Capital hatred to your great perſons, and are hardly drawn to ſuch liberall Contributions, as may ſuſtaine a War, and ſubdue kingdomes. Your popular Eſtate in falling from that equality, which it pretendeth, is eaſily conuerted into a licentious libertie, or rather looſeneſſe, pulling down ſome, & ſetting vp others, and is much ſubiect to Alterations through it's inconſtancie, & weake head-pieces of the Popular. For (as *Tully* ſaith) the ſea hath not ſo many ſtormes, perills, & tempeſtes, as hath this kind of Comonwealth. And of force (euery one attending his owne proper good and priuate intereſt) it muſt runne vpon one of theſe two rockes: Either on the Tyrannie of him, that is the ſtrongeſt, and, vpheld by the fauour of the Maior part, liftes vp himſelfe aboue them all: Or on the *Plebeian* gouernment, then which none can be worſe; for all then falls into the hands of ignorant people who put ordinary people into the higheſt places of honour and command, without any diſtinction or reckoning of rich, noble, wiſe, or vertuous. What good Counſaile, or ſound Aduiſe can all the Communaltie giue (put all their braines together) in a doubtfull caſe, or buſineſſe of importance, when (as *Salomon* ſaith) there is ſcarce one to be found of a thouſand, of abilitie and ſufficiencie in this kinde? But put caſe that ſuch a one may happily be found amongſt them, how ſhall he be heard with ſilence. What patience will their eares lend him? What ſecrecie will be had in that which is treated, be it of Peace, or War, that it be not divulged before it's due execution? your Tumultes and ſeditions, ſhall be more ordinary, Eccl. 7. 27.

dinary, and greater then in other ſtates; becauſe your meaner ſorte of people, are gouerned more by their owne vnruly appetites, and womaniſh longings, then by reaſon and diſcretion. And your baſe and cruell Vulgar, which vpon the leaſt occaſion ſuffers it ſelfe to be led away by hatred, and reuenge, preſently falls to taking of ſtones in their hands, tearing vp the pibbles in the ſtreetes, as *Cicero* ſets downe vnto vs, that in the popular aſſemblies of Rome, it ſo fell out, that oftentimes they drew their naked ſwordes, & that the ſtones were ſeene to flye about their eares on all ſides. And when this head ſtrong multitude hath once broken the reines, there is no keeping of them in, nor can the wit of man deuiſe how to bridle them. In a *Monarchy*, the Monarke; In an *Ariſtocratia*, your Noble men are ſupreme Iudges, and Arbitrators, and by this their ſupreme and abſolute power, they many times compoſe the differences of the ſubiects. But in a *Democratia* and Popular Eſtate, they are the ſupreme power, and they themſelues bandy one againſt another, the fire of faction, ſetting them in a conſuming flame, without acknowledging any ſuperiour, to decide the quarrell, and compoſe their differences. And therefore *Ariſtotle* ſayd; That there was not any Tyrannie either greater or more pernicious, then that of an intire Communaltie, which, of it ſelfe, is inclined to crueltie. The *Monarchy*, or Kingdome is freer from theſe burning feuers, and by all is ranked in the beſt place, and is ſtiffely maintained by the graueſt Authors. Of this onely ſhall I treate at this preſent. It is called a *Monarchy*, of Μόνος, which, in Greeke, ſignifieth One, and of Ἀρχὴ, which is the ſame with Prince, which is as if we ſhould ſay a Principalitie, or a Kingdome; where one alone is hee that commands and gouernes, and the reſt all obey. All theſe three kindes, of Popular, Ariſtocraticall, and Monarchicall gouernments were vſed in *Greece*, and more particularly in *Rome*. But *Rome* neuer came to be Miſtreſſe of the World, till ſhee was reduced to a *Monarchie* in the time of *Cæſar Auguſtus*.

Augustus. There are found therein 8. differences of States: Husbandmen, Trades-men, Merchants, Souldiers, Iudges Cleargie-men, the Nobility, and the King, which (to speake more properly, and, as in diuers places it is deliuered by the blessed Apostle S. *Paul*) is a Misticall Body, which we call a Kingdome with it's Head. For a king, is the supreme Lord, subiect onely vnto God.

That in S. *Augustines*, and *Diuus Thomas* his opinion, as also sundry other Authors of diuers faculties, amongst which are *Aristotle*, and *Plato*; the most excellent gouernment, is that, which acknowledgeth a Superior, one King, and one Head. For all naturall, and good gouernment proceedeth from One, and that which comes neerest vnto Vnitie, hath most similitude, with that which is diuine, and is by much the most perfect. By God, Kings reigne, according to that of the wise man. *Per me, reges regnant; Per me, Principes imperant. By me Kings reigne, and Princes decree iustice.* And God being one, and most simple in his Being; and Nature the Head of all the whole Vniuerse; by Whom, and Which all is gouerned with admirable and ineffable prouidence, and is the Idea of all good and perfect gouernment, it is not a thing to be doubted, but that that shall be amongst vs the best, which is most agreeable, with his. And if the Members of the body, being many, and bearing different Offices therein, admit to be gouerned by a Head, and that God and Nature, hath so ordained it, *Why should not a Monarchicall gouernment be the best? Most certaine therefore is it, that it is mainely to be preferred before the other two. Some will haue this Monarchicall* gouerment to be the most ancient, and that it had it's beginning from *Cain*, *Adams* eldest sonne, who was the first, that did gather people together, built Cities, and did shut them vp, and fortifie them with walls. After the flood, *Nimrod*, the sonne of *Chus*, and nephew vnto *Cham*, a man of valour, and amongst those of those times, the most able, and strongest man, was the first, that reduced men to liue in a

Aug. lib. 2. de Ciuit. Dei. D. Tho. de regim. li. 1. cap. 2. Arist. Pol. 3. cap. 5. & 10. Plat. Dial. de repub. Prou. 8. 15.

Beros lib. 4. de Flor. Cald. secundum Philon. de Antiq.

Communitie, and to be obedient to one only King, possessing himselfe of the Kingdome and Signorie of the World. And before these, euen in the very beginning of the Creation, God began to establish this gouernment, & forme of a Commonwealth. For (as S. *Paul* saith) God would, that all Mankinde should descend from one Man. And Gods chosen people did euermore maintaine a Monarchie, and did ordaine, that the Supreme power should reside and remaine in One. The first gouernours of the world, were Monarkes, & did gouerne with this Title, & all the Common-wealthes of the World, haue generally desired to be gouerned by one king. As appeareth by those of the Gentiles, euery particular state hauing his peculiar King. And were it not a great monstrousnesse in nature, that one body, should haue two Heads? Much more were it, that one kingdome should be gouerned by two persons: Vnitie is the Author of much good; and Pluralitie, the cause of much ill. The *Roman* Commonwealth did suffer much miserie and calamitie, not because all would not obey One, but because many would command All. And therfore in their greater necessities, they did create a *Dictator*, so called because all did obay whatsoeuer he dictated, and sayd vnto them. For they knew well enough, and did clearely and plainely perceiue, That in the Empire of One, the authoritie was the greater; greater the obedience, freer their determinations, firmer their Councells, speedier their resolutions, and more prompt the execution of their designes. In a word, Command, Signorie, and Supreme power, does better in one head then in many. And therefore all doe vnanimously and vndoubtedly conclude, That the Monarchie, is the ancientst, and the durablest of all other; and it's gouernment the best: yet, would I haue it to helpe it selfe with the *Aristocratia* in that which may be vsefull for it's aduantage. That in regard of it's strength, and execution, doth by it's greater Vnion, and force excell the rest: This other which is composed of a few noble, wise, and vertuous persons, because it consistes of

Act. 17. 26.

more

more, hath the more intirenesse, prudence, and wisedome; and by conioyning and intermixing the one with the other, resulteth a perfect & absolute gouernment. So that a *Monarchy*, that it may not degenerate, must not god loose, and absolute (for Command, is a madd man; and power *Lunaricke*) but must be tyed to the *Lawes*, as far forth as it is comprehended vnder the Law; And in things particular and temporall, must haue reference to the body of the Councell, seruing as the brace, or ioyning peece of timber, betweene a Monarchie, & an Aristocracie, which is the assistance and aduise of the chiefer, and wiser sort. For, from a Monarchy not thus well and orderly tempred, arise great errours in gouernment, little satisfaction to the State, and many distastes amongst those that are gouerned. Ailmen, that haue had the estimation of sound iudgements, and accounted wise in all kind of faculties haue held this to be the best and perfectest gouernment, and with out it, neuer Citie nor kingdome hath beene taken to be well gouerned. Your good Kings and great Gouernours haue euer fauoured this Course; whereas on the contrarie, your bad kings, and euill Gouernours, transported with their pride, haue runne another way. And therefore, in conformitie heereunto, I dare confidently affirme, if a Monarke, (be hee what he will be) shall resolue businesses alone on his own head (how wise soeuer he thinke himself) without hauing recourse to his Councell, or against the opinion of his Counsellours, (although he do *Auertar* and hit right in his resolutions) yet therein, he breakes the bounds of a Monarchie, and enters into those of a Tyranny. Of whose Examples, and the euill successes insuing thereupon, the Histories are full. But one shall serue instead of many. And that shall be of *Tarquinius Superbus*, taken out of the first Booke of *Titus Liuius*, who out of his great pride, and haughtinesse of minde, that he might rule all himselfe, and haue none else to haue a hand in any businesse, made it his Master peece, to weaken the authority of the *Roman* Senate in lessening the number of Senatours. *Liv. lib. 1.*

Which he purposely did, that he wholy and solely by himselfe, might determine all whatsoeuer that occurred in the kingdome. In this Monarchie, or Kingdome, there are three parts, or parties to be considered, of whom principally we are to treate. The King, The Ministers, and the Vassalls. And if in a humane body, the Anatomie & consideration of the Head, be the nicest, subtilleſt, and most difficult, what difficultie will it not be, and what a daintie hand will it not require to touch, talke, and treate of a king, who is the head of the Commonwealth? And hence I inferre, that for to treate of Kings, and to prescribe them Precepts and Documents touching a Kingdome, he ought to be such a wise King, as was *Salomon*. Who, considering the difficulties and dangers, which may in this matter offer themselues, aduiseth all without any difference, that they should not seeme to be desirous to seeme wise before their Temporall kings. For no man, howsoeuer fulfill'd with wisedome, is (speaking in his kings presence) secure and safe. *Penes Regem, noli velle videri sapiens.* Boast not thy wisedome in the presence of the King. Eccl. 7. 5. The reason is for that he that is the supreme soueraigne in Temporall power, whom all acknowledge and obey as their Superiour, riseth it much, to see himselfe inferiour in a thing of so greate esteeme, as is wisedome and discretion. *Xenophon*, laying his foundation on this opinion, introduceth *Cambises*, instructing his sonne *Cyrus*, King of *Persia*, how he ought to carry himself in his Kingdome. As also *Alexander*, who receiued his Militarie Precepts from his father *Philip* and not from any other that was inferiour vnto him. It is written of *Agasicles*, king of the *Lacedemonians*, that he refused to learne Philosophie of a famous Philosopher of those times; it seeming vnto him, that being a king, it was not fitting, he should be his Scholler, whose sonne he was not. As if he should haue sayd; That he, onely by a naturall obligation, acknowledged him alone, and that he contented himselfe with that which he had learned from him, and would

would not acknowledge any other inferiour vnto him in birth, though neuer so much before him in learning and knowledge. But this difficulty I purpose to ouercome by proposing, in this my Treatise, vnto kings, not mine owne Reasons, nor those, which I might draw from great Philosophers, and humane Histories, but from the words of God, and of his Saints, and from Histories Diuine and Canonicall, whose Instructions kings may not disdaine, nor take it as an affront to submit themselues thereunto, be they (being Christians) neuer so powerfull, neuer so supreme, because the Author that dictates these Lessons vnto them, is the Holy-Ghost. And if I shall at any time alleage the Examples of heathen Kings, and shall make some good benefit of Antiquitie, and serue my selfe with the sentences of Philosophers, that were strangers vnto Gods people, it shall be very sparingly, and as it comes in my way, and as one that ceazeth vpon his owne goods (if he fortune to light vpon them) and taketh them from those that vniustly detaine and possesse them.

CHAP. 2.

CHAP. II.

What the name of King signifieth.

THis name of King, in Diuine and humane Letters is very ancient, and so old is the first Man of whom for in Gods creating of him (euen before that there were many Men) he made him King ouer all the beastes of the field. And it is a most noble Appellatiue, and that which is best and more neerely representeth vnto vs the Maiestie of God, who very frequently in the holy Scriptures, and with much propriety, is called King. And it is the common opinion of the Wisest, that it signifieth one that rules and gouernes, being deduced from the Latine word *Regere*, which is to rule, or gouerne. *Reges à regendo dicti sunt*, (saith S. *Isidore*) *Ideò quilibet rectè faciendo, regis nomen tenet, sed peccando, amittit.* And considering with more attention, this it's true Etymologie, he is properly sayd to be a King, who ouer mastring his passions, doth first rule and gouerne himselfe, cumplying (as he ought) with the obligations of his Estate, without offence either to God or his neighbour; and next hath a care to rule others, and, to procure all he can, that all may doe the like; And he, that shall do the contrary laying his foundation on humane wisedom, and reason of State, regardeth more his own temporall commoditie and proper Interest, then the good of the Commonwealth. This suteth not with the name he holdeth; nor may he be called a king, neither is he so for himselfe, nor for others, because he neither knowes to rule himselfe nor others. *Malus, si regnet* (saith S. *Austen*) *seruus est.* He hath the Appellation and honourable name of a king, but

Aug lib. 4. de Ciuit. Dei, cap. 3.

willed him, that he should send for him; for we will not sit downe, till he be come hither; shewing, that to be a shepheard and to feed the flock, was the best Symbole, and most proper Embleme of a King. And therfore I would haue no man to imagine that which *Philon* did feare, that when we come to make a King, we must take away the Crooke, and put the Scepter in his hand. The Office of a King I tell you, and the Arte of ruling, will require a great deale of study, and experience. For to gouerne the bigger sort of beastes, and those that are of greatest price; a man must first haue learned to haue gouerned the lesser. It is not meete, to Popp into great places vnexperienced persons, and such as know not what belongs vnto businesse, nor the weight of the charge that they are to take vpon them. For indeede, great Matters are not handsomely carryed, nor well managed, but by such as haue beene formerly imployed in businesses of an inferiour and lower nature. And this choyse, which God made of *Dauid*, iumpes with this our intent. He doth not say, that he tooke him on the sodaine from the sheepefold, and presently clapp't a Crowne vpon his Head; but first bred him vp to feede the house of *Iacob*, and his family, and that he should exercise himselfe therein. For a well ordered house, and a family that is well gouerned, is the Modell and Image of a Common-wealth; And domesticall authoritie, resembleth Regall power. And the good guidance of a particular house, is the Exemplary and true patterne of a publicke State. It imbraceth and comprehendeth in it all the sorts of good gouernment. It doth treate and set in order those things, that appertaine to Policie, Conseruation, and the direction of Men, as well in regard of Commanding, as obeying. What other thing is a house with his family, but a little Citie. And what a Citie, but a great House? Many houses, make a Citie; And many Cities, make a kingdome. And in point of gouernment, they onely differ in greatnesse, for howbeit in the one, they are busied more, and in the other

De post satanitibus accepit eum, pascere Iacob Seruum suum & Israel hereditatem suam.

lesse

leſſe, yet they tend all to one end, which is the common good. And therefore S. *Paul* and other Saints, and wiſe men are of opinion, that hee that knowes not how to gouerne his own houſe well, will hardly gouerne another mans. The Emperour *Alexander Severus*, viſiting the *Roman* Senate, did inquire, how the Senators did rule and gouerne their owne priuate Houſes, and families, and ſayd; That that man, who knew not how to command his wife, and his Children, to follow his owne buſineſſes, to make prouiſion for his houſe, and to gouerne his familie, it were a madneſſe to recommend vnto that man the gouernment of the Common-wealth. Amongſt thoſe the famous Gouernours, *Cato* the *Roman*, was preferred before *Ariſtides*, the *Grecian*, becauſe the former was a great *Pater familias*, or father of a familie; and the latter was noted to be defectiue in that kinde. So that the life of a ſhepheard is the Counterfeit or Picture of gouernment, as is to be ſeene by his aſſiſtance in his Office, in the care of the wellfare of his flocke, in the obligation of the Account that he is to make, in the offence that he is to finde by Wolues and Theeues, and in the ſolicitude and watchfullneſſe, which thoſe ordinary dangers doe require, wherein his flocke ſtands, and more eſpecially when the ſhepheard is wanting vnto them. And it is ſo proper vnto a King to feede his flocke, that when our Sauiour Chriſt fed that multitude of people, which followed him in the deſert, they no ſooner ſaw that he had ſatisfied them, but they were deſirous to make him a King, and to clap the Crowne on his head. And for this cauſe in the 3. Chapter of *Eſay*, he that ſaw he was vnprouided of bread, would not accept the Votes of the people, that were willing to nominate him for their King, ſaying thus vnto them: *Non ſum medicus, & in domo mea non eſt panis, neque veſtimentum; nolite conſtituere me principem populi.* There is no bread in my houſe, nor cloathing, I cannot be an helper vnto yee, therefore make

Iohn 6, 15.

Eſay. 3.

me

me no Prince of the people. And therefore with very good reason, and with a great deale of proprietie, a King and a Shepheard, is all one.

In the Greeke tongue a King is called βασιλεὺς *Quasi basis & fundamentum populi.* As if hee were the basis and foundation of the people. And of your Kings (sayth *Rabbi Abraham*) those words are to bee vnderstood of *Iob*, *Qui portant orbem*; Who sustaine the weight of a kingdome, and beare the loade thereof vpon their shoulders. And a Hierogliffe heereof is the Crowne which they weare vpon their head in manner of a Citie, circled about with Townes, and battlements; signifying thereby, that the strong brayne, and the good and wise head, *and sound sconce* of a King, doth fortifie and vphold the whole weight and burthen of all the Cities of his kingdome. And this is S. *Gregories* Interpretation vpon this place. Some others conceiue that this name was giuen it, in consideration of that creature called the *Basiliske*; who is the king of the venomous creatures, and hath this euil qualitie with him, that he kills with his lookes onely. And doe not the kings sometimes kill their fauourites, and those that are neereſt about them, with the knit of the brow and a sower looke? And some such Kings there be (or at least haue beene) in the world, that take it offensiuely, if their frownes and disfauours, doe not kill like poyson. But this Etymologie hath little ground for it. For the Greeke word βασιλεὺς which in that language signifies a king, is much different from that of *Basiliscus*, a *Basiliscke*. For it is more proper to Kings to cure and heale, then to kill, and slay. As the forecited place of *Esay* teacheth vs, where he that would not take the Crowne vpon him, excuses himselfe, not onely for that he had not bread to feede others, but also because he was not a Physitian. *Non sum Medicus, & in domo mea non est panis*, presupposing, that a good King ought to be a Physitian to his people, and ought to helpe and feede his subiects. *Greg in Iob.*

subiects. And the sayd Prophet, when in the person of Christ, he relateth, how the eternall Father had annoynted him, and Crowned him for King, saith, *spiritus domini super me, eò quod vnxerit me & vt mederer contritis corde.* And Christ himselfe being calumniated by the Pharisees, because he did conuerse and eat with Publicans, and Sinners, hee made them this answer. *Non est opus valentibus medicus, sed male habentibus. They that bee whole, neede not the Physitian, but they that be sicke. Patricius Senensis,* calls Kings and Princes, *Medicos vniuersales reip:* Vniuersall Physitians of the Common-wealth. And S. *Austen* tell vs that to them appertaineth the remedy of all the sicke, and the cure of all the diseases, and other those crosse and repugnant humours which reigne in a Kingdome, and to apply a medicine to euery particular person, agreeable to that humour, wherein hee is peccant. And the Office of a shepheard, which is so proper vnto Kings (as already hath beene said) hath with it this obligation, to cure his flocke. And therefore in the 34. of *Ezechiel,* God doth lay a heauie Taxe vpon those shepheards, because they were faulty in this their Office of Curing. *Quod infirmũ fuit, non consolidastis, & quod ægrotum, non sanastis, &c. The diseased haue yee not strengthened, neither haue yee healed that which was sicke, neither haue yee bound vp that which was broken, neither haue yee brought againe that which was driuen away, neither haue yee sought that which was lost; but with force and with crueltie haue yee ruled them, yee eat the fat, and yee cloath ye with the Wooll, yee kill them that are fed, but yee feede not the flocke.* And heere that third signification sutes well with this name of King: which is the same as Father. As appeareth in that of *Genesis,* where the *Sichemites* called their King *Abimilech,* which is as much to say; As my Father, or my Lord; And anciently their Kings were called *Patres reip:* Fathers of their Common-wealths. And hence is it, that King *Theodoricus* defining the Maiestie

Esay. 16.

Mat. 9. 12.

Ezech. 34. 4.

Gen. 20. Iudg. 8.

royall

royall of Kings, (as *Cassiodorus* reporteth it) speakes thus: *Princeps, est Pastor publicus & Communis.* A King is the publicke and common shepheard. Nor is a King any other thing, but the publicke and common Father of the Common-wealth. And because the Office of a King hath such similiancie with that of a Father, *Plato* stiles a King *Patrem familias*, A father of a familie. And *Xenophon* the Philosopher affirmeth: *Bonus Princeps nihil differt à bono patre.* That a good Prince, differs nothing from a good Father. The onely difference is in this, That the one hath fewer, the other more vnder his Empire & Command. And certainly, it is most sutable vnto reason, that this Title of Father be giuen vnto Kings, because they ought to be such towards their subiects, and kingdomes, carrying a fatherly affection and prouidence, towards their wellfare and preseruation. For reigning, or bearing rule (saith *Homer*) is nothing else but a paternall gouernment, like that of a father ouer his owne children. *Ipsum nam q. regnum, imperium est suapte natura paternum.* There is no better habit of gouerning, then to haue a King cloath himselfe with the loue of a father, and to haue that care of his subiects, as if they were so many children of his owne loynes. The affection of a father towards his children, his care that they shall lacke nothing, and to be one and the same towards them all, carrieth a great proportion with a Kings pietie towards his subiects. Hee is called a Father, so that the very name, obligeth him to answer this signification, in workes, not in word; but to shew himselfe a true father indeed. Againe, for that this name father is very proper vnto Kings, if wee shall well and truly weigh it, amongst all other Attributes and Epithites of Maiestie, and Signorie, it is the greatest, vnder which all other names are comprehended, as the Species vnder their *Genus*, being subordinate thereunto. Father is aboue the Title of King, Lord, Master, Captaine, and the like. In a word, it is a name aboue all other names that denotate

Cassio. lib. 4. epist 42.

Homer.

Signorie, and prouidence. Antiquitie when it was willing to throw it's greateſt Honour vpon an Emperour, it called him the Father of the Common-wealth. Which was more then *Cæſar*, or *Auguſtus*, and whatſoeuer other name moſt glorious in the world: whether it were conferr'd vpon them either for to flatter them, or to oblige them to thoſe great effects, which this name (Father) tyes them vnto. In concluſion, by this word (Father,) it is giuen Kings to vnderſtand, what they ought to doe. To wit; That they are to rule gouerne and maintaine their Common-wealths and Kingdomes in Iuſtice, and in Peace: That they are to feede, (like good ſhepheards) theſe their rationall ſheepe. That they are (like skilfull Phyſitians) to heale and cure their maladies: And that they are to haue that care of their ſubiects, as fathers haue of their children, watching ouer them with prudence and with Loue, reſpecting more them, then themſelues. For Kings, are more obliged to the Kingdome, and the Common-wealth, then vnto themſelues. For, if we ſhall but looke into the Originall, and Inſtitution of a King, and a kingdome, we ſhall finde, that a King was ordained for the good of the kingdome, and not the kingdome for the good of the King.

CHAP. 3

Chap. III.

Whether the name of King, be a name of Office?



Et vs not detaine our selues in the ill apprehension of those, who conceiue, that the name of King is a Title onely of Honour and Dignitie, and not of Charge, and Office. For if (as wee said before in our 1. Chapter) a King in a Common-wealth, holdes that place, as the Head doth in a humane body, where all the Corporall Members haue their particular Offices, and euen the most and most principall, then most certaine it is, that a King, in his kingdome, is to be the most Eminent in the Gouernment, so that we are not only to acknowledge that a King is an Officiall, but euen the greatest of all Officialls, and that of all Offices, his is the chiefest and of greatest dignitie. *Etenim* (sayth S. *Chrysostome*) *imperare, non solum dignitas est, imò ars est artium omnium summa.* To rule, is not onely a dignitie, but an Art also, and of all Artes, the greatest. Diuine *Plato*, & *Diuus Thomas* likewise affirme; *Inter omnes artes viuendi, regendi ars amplior, & superior est.* The Arte and office of gouerning a Common-wealth, and a kingdome, is a Regall knowledge, a Princely science, and which particularly appertaineth vnto Kings; it is an Arte of Artes, the most difficile to learne, and the most dangerous to practise; And *Nazianzene* renders the reason. *Quia inter omnes animantes homo maximè & moribus varius, & voluntate diuersus.* Because amongst all liuing Creatures, man is most various in his maners, and most diuerse in his will. He is most mutable in his opinions, most deceitfull in his words of

Rom. 12. 2. 4. 1. Cor. 12. 12.

Chrys. in Epist. vlt: ad Corin: Serm. 15. Plato Dion. Epist. 7. D. Thom. de regi. Prin. cap. 14. Nazian: in Apologetico.

more colours, foldings, and doublings then any other creature whatsoeuer; worst to be knowen, and hardest to to be ruled; and aboue all, most ingrate and vnthankfull vnto him that is set in authority ouer him. And *Plato* more particularly tells vs, that he held it in a manner a thing impossible, for any one to haue such a Wit, that alone of himselfe, he should be sufficient to gouerne well; it being so hard a matter to do, though a man haue neuer so good partes, and abilities to performe that function. *Ptolomy*, King of *Ægypt*, considering the great difficulties, which accompanie gouerning and reigning, began to weigh the qualitie of each difficultie, and comparing some with other some, he knew not which to ranke formost, or to preferre before his fellow. It seemed wonderfull hard vnto him, to know the Talent, and parts of persons, for the conferring of Offices and places vpon them; a businesse, whereon good gouernment mainely dependeth. Hee likewise found it as difficult, to make good Lawes, and Statutes. As also, to rule so many Townes, and so many people, as are listed vnder a Crowne, and name of King: As likewise to dresse so many dishes for so many different palates, so many things to the gust and content of so many sundry wills, and a thousand other difficulties which daily offer themselues in the ruling and gouerning of men. For (as *Seneca* saith) *Nullum animal, maiori est arte tractandum, quam homo.* There is not that creature, like vnto Man, for whose gouernment, more Arte more prudence, more wisedome, more discretion, and sagacitie is required. No man can denie, but that to beare on his shoulders the weight of a kingdome, with obligation to attend on such and so great a diuersitie of things, as of Peace, and Warre, and of so many graue and weightie businesse, and of so great importance, without fayling one point or tittle therein, is an intollerable trouble, a most heauy burthen, and most difficult Office. And in this respect, so few haue there beene

Seneca, lib. de Clem. 1. cap. 17.

beene, that haue knowne perfectly to cumply therewith. And it is worthy our consideration, that there being so many Histories, and Bookes of the Liues of Kings, and Emperours of the Gentiles, there is not one amongst them all to be found, who hath not bin noted of many faults. *Alexander* the Great, who for his famous Acts, & great Courage, had the sirname giuen him of Great, had many things in him worthy reprehension, and vnbeseeming royall dignitie. And howbeit *Xenophon* in his *Cyropedia*, would giue vs to vnderstand, that King *Cyrus* had all those vertues and greatnesses, which are there represented vnto vs, yet many wise men are of beliefe, that that was no true History which he wrote of that King, but an *Idea*, or *Patterne*, that Kings might draw from thence, what they ought to bee. Like vnto those Bookes of *Cicero*, which he wrote *de Oratore*; Who painteth forth the properties, which hee that will be a good Orator ought to haue, though that man was neuer yet found, that had them. Besides, if we shall turne our eyes towards those ancient Kings of Gods people, the sacred Scripture doth dis-deceiue vs. For, out of the whole packe of them, hee picks out but three onely that were good. *Praeter Dauid, & Ezechiam, & Iosiam, omnes Reges peccatum commiserunt.* Excepting *Dauid*, *Ezechias*, and *Iosias*, all the rest of the Kings committed sinne. Not that these three had not their sinnes, for the holy Scripture taxeth them of some, (and those no small ones) but because they had not sinned in the Office of Kings. And because in it's administration, it is an Office so full of difficulties; the Apostle S. *Paul* admonisheth all the faithfull, that they alwayes make earnest Prayers for them, which is still vsed to this day in all your Catholike Churches.

Xinophon. Lib. 1 de Cyrop.

Eccl. 49. 5

Moreouer that the name of a King, is the name of an Office, it is confirmed by that common saying, *Beneficium datur propter Officium.* And therefore Kings being so greatly benefitted, not onely by those great Tributes, which are giuen them

Refran— El beneficio se da por el oficio.

them by the Common-wealth, but likewise by those which they receiue from the Benefices, and Rents of the Church, it is an vndoubted truth, that they haue an Office, and of Offices the greatest; and for this cause the whole Kingdome doth so freely and liberally contribute vnto them. Which is specified by S. *Paul* in a Letter of his which hee wrote vnto the *Romans*. *Idèo, & tributa præstatis, &c.* For this cause pay you Tribute also. For they are Gods Ministers, attending continually vpon this very thing, &c. Kingdomes doe not pay their taxes idly and in vaine: So many sessements, so many Subsedies, so many impositions, so many great rentes, so much authoritie, so high a Title, and so great a Dignitie, is not giuen without charge and trouble. In vaine should they haue the name of Kings, if they had not whom to rule and gouerne. And therefore this obligation lyes vpon them. *In multitudine populi, dignitas regis.* The honour of a King, is in the multitude of his People. So great a dignitie, so great reuenewes, such a deale of Greatnesse, Maiestie and Honour, with a perpetuall *Cense* and rate vpon his Subiects Lands and Goods, binde him to rule and gouerne his States, conseruing them by Peace and Iustice. Let Kings therefore know, that they are to serue their kingdomes, being they are so well payd for their paines, and that they beare an Office, which tyes them necessarily to this trouble. *Qui præest in solicitudine,* (saith S. *Paul*) He that ruleth with diligence. This is the Title, and name of King, and of him that gouernes. Not of him, that goes before others onely in his Honour, and his pleasure, but of him that excells others in his solicitude, and his care. Let them not thinke, that they are Kings onely in name, and representation, and that they are not bound to any more but to bee adored and reuerenced, and to represent the person royall with a good grace, and to carry themselues with a soueraigne kind of State and Maiestie like some of those Kings of the *Medes* and *Persians*, which were no more then meere

Rom. 13. 6.

Rom. 12. 8

meere shadowes of Kings, so wholy neglectfull were they of their office, as if they had beene no such manner of Men. There is not any thing more dead, and of lesse substance, then the image of a shadow, which neither waggs arme, nor head, but at the Motion of that which causeth it. God Exod.20. Commanded his people, that they should not make any grauen Image nor any feigned Pictures, or counterfeit paintings which shew a hand, where there is none; discouer a face, where there is none; and represent a body, where there is none; expressing therein actions to the life, as if the Image or Picture did see, and speake. For God is no friend of feigned figures, of painted men, nor of Kings, that are onely so in shape and proportion, being in fashion like vnto those, of whom *Dauid* sayd, *Os habent, & non loquuntur, oculos habent, & non videbunt, &c. They haue mouths, but speake not, eyes haue they, but they see not; They haue eares, but heare not, and hands haue they, but handle not.* And to what vse I pray serues all this? They are no more then meere Idolls of Stone, which haue no more in them of Kings, but onely an externall representation. To be all name and authoritie, and to be Men in nothing else, doe not sute well together. Woe to the Idoll Shepheard (saith *Zacharie*) that leaueth the flocke. *The sword shall be vpon his arme, and vpon his right eye; His arme shall be cleane dryed vp, and his right eye shall be vtterly darkeneds* it is written in the *Reuelation*; *Nomen habes quod viuas, & mortuus es. Thou hast a name that thou liuest, and art dead:* The names which God setteth vpon things, are like vnto the Title of a Booke, which in few words, containeth all that is therein. This name of King, is giuen by God vnto Kings, and therein includeth all that, which this their Office tyes them to doe. And if their workes and actions doe not answer with their name and Title, it is as if one should say yea, with his Mouth, and by making Signes, say no, with his head. What a ieast and mockerie is this? How Psal.135.16. Zach.11.17. Apoc.3.1.

ſhall ſuch a one bee truely vnderſtood? It were Coſenage and deceit in that Golde-beater, who writes vpon his Signe, Heere is fine gold to be ſold, when indeed it is but *Orpine*, and baſe gold for *Painters*. The name of King, is not an Attribute of Idleneſſe; A perſon regall, muſt haue reall performance. As his name ſounderh, ſo let him ſerue in his place; it is the people that proclaime the King, but it is the King that muſt proclaime his loue to the people. Hee that hath the name of ruling and gouerning, a Gods name let him rule and gouerne. They are not to be *Reyes de anillo* (as it is in the *Prouerb*) that is to ſay; *nominall* Kings only, *de pratir nomen nihil*: hauing nothing elſe in them. In *France*, there was a time, when their kings, had nothing but the bare name of Kings, their Liuetenants Generall gouerning, and Commanding all, whileſt they (like ſo many beaſtes) did buſie themſelues in nothing elſe, but following the delights and pleaſures of Gluttonie, and Wantonneſſe. And becauſe it might be known, and appeare to the people, that they were aliue, (for they neuer came abroad) once a yeare they made ſhew of themſelues, on the firſt day of *May*, in the Market-place of *Paris*, ſitting in a chaire of State on a throne royall, like your kings amongſt your Stage-players; and there in reuerence they bowed their bodies vnto them, and preſented them with giftes; and they againe conferred ſome fauours, on ſuch as they though fit. And becauſe you may ſee the miſerie whereunto they were brought, *Eynardus*, in the beginning of that Hiſtorie which he writes of the life of *Charles* the Great, ſays: That thoſe Kings (in thoſe dayes) had no valour in them in the world, made no ſhew of Nobleneſſe, nor gaue ſo much as a taſt of any inclination thereunto; but had onely the empty and naked name of King. For in very deede they were not Kings, nor had actually and effectually any hand in the gouernment of the State, or the wealth and riches of the Kingdome; for they were wholly poſſeſſed by the *Præfecti Palatij*,

lars, whom they called *Seneschalls*, or Lord high Stewards of the Kings House. Who were such absolute Lords and of that vnlimited power, that they ruled the roste, and did what they list, leauing the poore seely King nothing saue onely the bare Title, who sitting in a Chaire with his Perriwigge, and his long beard, represented the person of a King making the world beleeue that hee gaue Audience to all Ambassadours that came from forraigne parts, and gaue them their answers and dispatches, when they were to returne: But in very truth, he sayd no more vnto them, saue what hee had beene taught, or had by writing beene powred into him, making shew as if all this had beene done out of his owne Head. So that these kinde of Kings had nothing of the Power-Royall, but the vnprofitable name of King, and inutile throne of State, and a personated Maiestie that lay open to nothing but scorne and derision. For the true kings, and those that commanded all, were those their *Minions* and *Fauorites*, who oppressed the other by their potencie, and kept them in awe. Of a King of *Samaria*, God sayd; That hee was no more but *paululum spumæ*, a froathy bubble. Which being beheld a far off, seemeth to be something, but when you draw neere and touch it, it is nothing. *Simia in tecto, Rex fatuus in solio suo.* He is like vnto an Ape on the house-toppe, who vsing the apparances, and gestures of a man is taken for such a one by them that know him not. Iust so, is a foolish King vpon his Throne, your Ape likewise serueth to entertaine children and to make them sport: And a King causeth laughter in those, who behold him stript of the actions of a King, without authoritie, and without gouernment. A King, appareled in Purple, and sitting with great Maiestie in his Throne answereable to his greatnesse, seemeth in shew, graue, seuere, and terrible, but in effect nothing. Like vnto the Picture of that *Grecians* limming, which being placed on high, and beheld from a farre, seemed

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to be a very good Peece, But when you came neerer vnto it, and viewed it well, it was full of Blots and Blurs, and very course stuffe. A King vnder his Canopie or Princely Pall, expresseth a great deale of outward State and Maiestie, but himselfe being narrowly lookt into, is no better then the blurred Character of a King. *Simulachra gentium*, *Dauid* calleth those Kings, that are Kings onely in name. Or, as the *Hebrew* renders it: *Imago fictilis, & contrita.* An image of crack't earth, which leaketh in a thousand places. A vaine Idoll, which representeth much, yet is no other then a false and lying shadow. And that name doth very well sute with them, which *Eliphas* falsly put vpon *Iob*, who, being so good and so iust a man, did mocke at him, vpbrayding him, that his foundation was in the dust, that he was not a man of any solid and sound iudgement, but onely had some certaine exteriour apparences, calling him *Mimicoleon*, which is a kinde of creature, which in Latin, they call *Formicaleo.* Because it hath a monstrous kinde of Composture, in the one halfe part of the body, representing a fierce Lyon, which was alwayes the *Hierogliffe* of a King; and in the other halfe an *Ante* or *Pismire*, which signifieth a weake thing and without any substance. Authoritie, Name, Throne, and Maiestie doth well become Lyons, and powerfull Princes; And hitherto, it is well. But when we looke on the other halfe, and see the being and substance of a *Pismire*; that goes hard. There haue beene Kings, who with their very name onely, haue strooke the world into a feare and terrour. But they themselues had no substance in them, and were in their Kingdome no better then *Ants*, and *Pismires.* Great in name and Office but poore in action. Let euery King then acknowledge himselfe to be an Officer, and not onely to bee a priuate, but a publicke Officer, and a superintendent in all Offices whatsoeuer. For in all, hee is bound both to speake, and doe. S *Austen*, and

Iob. 4. 19.

and D. *Thomas*, expounding that place of Saint *Paul*, which treates of *Episcopall* Dignitie, say; That the Latin word *Episcopus*, is compounded in the Greeke of two words, being in signification the same with *Superintendens*, The name of Bishop, of King, and of whatsoeuer other superior, is a name that comprehendeth Superintendencie, and assistance in all Offices. This the royall Scepter signifieth, exercised by Kings in their publicke acts, a Ceremonie vsed by the *Aegyptians*, but borrowed from the *Hebrews*, who for to expresse the obligation of a good King, did paint an open eye placed aloste vpon the top of a rod, in forme of a Scepter; signifying in the one the great power that a King hath, and the prouidence and vigilancie which hee is to haue. In the other that he doe not onely content himselfe in possessing this supreme power, and in holding this high and eminent place, and so lye downe and sleepe, and take his ease, as if there were no more to bee done: but hee must bee the first in gouernment, the first in Councell and all in all Offices, hauing a watchfull eye in viewing and reuiewing, how euery publicke Minister performes his duty. In signification whereof, *Ieremie* saw the like rod, when God asking him what hee saw, hee sayd; *Virgam Vigilantem ego video. Well hast thou seene, and verily I say vnto thee; That I who am the head, will watch ouer my body; I, that am the shepheard, will watch ouer my sheepe; And I that am a King and Monarke, will watch without wearinesse ouer all my Inferiours.* The *Chalde* translates it, *Regem festinantem*, a King that goes in hast. For though hee haue eyes and see; yet if he betake him to his ease, be lull'd asleepe with his delightes and pleasures, and doth not bestirre himselfe, visiting this, and that other place, and seeke to see and know all the good and euill which passeth in his Kingdome, hee is, as if hee were not. Let him bethinke himselfe that he is a Head, and the Head of

Aug. & D. Tho. in Epis. 1. ad Tim. 3.

Ier. 1. v. 12.

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a Lyon, which sleepes with his eyes open; That he is that rodde, which hath eyes, and watcheth: Let him therefore open his eyes, and not sleepe, trusting to those that perhaps are blinde, or like *Moles*, haue no eyes at all: or if they haue any, vse them no farther then for their own priuate profit: And therein they are quicke sighted. These, haue the eyes of the Kyte, and other your birdes of rapine, but it were better that they had no eyes at all, then haue them all for themselues.

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CHAP. 4.

Chap. III.

Of the Office of Kings.

HAuing proued, that the name of King, is not of Dignitie onely, but likewiſe of Occupation, and Office, it is fit, that we ſhould now treate of the qualities and partes thereof. For the better vnderſtanding whereof, wee muſt follow the Metaphor, or reſemblance of *Mans body*, whereof the Apoſtle S. *Paul* made vſe, thereby to giue vs to vnderſtand the place and Office which euery Member is to hold in the Common-wealth. All the Members of the body (ſaith he) haue their particular Office, but the Occupations and functions of euery one of them, are diuerſe, and different. The moſt important and of greateſt Excellencie are thoſe of the Head; which is the ſuperiour part of the bodie. In which the Soule doth exerciſe her principall operations, as thoſe of the Vnderſtanding, and Will, the inſtruments whereof haue their habitation in the head. There is ſeated the *Senſus Communis*, or Common ſenſe, ſo called, becauſe it's knowledge is common to all thoſe obiects of the exteriour or outward ſences. There likewiſe, is the *Imaginatiue*, the *Eſtimatiue*, the *Phantaſie*, and the *Reminiſcentia*, Corporall faculties, which ſerue to thoſe that are Spirituall, as are the Vnderſtanding, and the Will. In the Head, are likewiſe placed the exteriour ſences. As Seeing, Hearing, Smelling Taſting, Touching, and other faculties and vertues, wherewith the life of man is ſuſtained and gouerned. And therfore S. *Ambroſe* calls it *Imperialem Aulam*, the Imperiall Court, becauſe therein reſides the Imperiall power, or that

Ariſt. & Aly. lib. 3. de Anima.

that Empresse the Will, which ruleth and Commandeth all those powers and faculties, as being obedient and subiect vnto her. And wee may also stile it *Regalem Aulam*, the Princes Pallace; for therein abideth (assisted by it's operations) the Vnderstanding as a King in his Court. For if the Will bee tearmed an Empresse, of it's Empire and rule: The Vnderstanding is called a King, because it directeth and gouerneth in Man, and vnto Man, all his operations, guiding them to their due and fit ends. *Lactantius* (contrary vnto *Galen*) sayth of the Head, that it is the first member that is formed in Man, and hath the Primacie ouer all the rest. And is for this cause, called *Caput*, which is the same with *Principium*, (as some Doctors doe expound it.) And in the *Spanish* tongue, they call the first lines of a Processe, *Cabeca de Processo*, the head of the Processe, or the beginning of it. And it carryes the same signification in the *Latin*. *In capite libri scriptum est de me; id est, in principio Libri.* And for this, we haue not ondly *Varro's*, but also *Robertus Stephanus* his Confirmation. *Caput dicitur, quod inde initium capiant Sensus.* It is called Head, because from thence the sences haue their Head, and Beginning. As also, for that the Head, is the Well-head of Mans life. From it, haue their originall, and in it, do all the Sences liue. It Sees, Heares, Smells, and Tastes, not onely for it selfe, but for the whole body, that is, for the good and benefit of all the members and parts of the body,

Lactan. Firm. Lib. de Opificio Dei, cap. 12. Heb. 1. c. 6. 7.

M. Varro. Rob. Steph. in Thesau. 1. Plato in Tim.

Hence it followeth, that the Institution of the State-royall, or of a King, which is represented in the Head, was not ordained onely for the Kings owne vse and profit, but for the generall well-fare of his Kingdome. And therefore hee ought to See, Heare, Taste, and vnderstand, not only by him selfe, or for himselfe, but by all, and for all. He ought not onely to haue an eye to his important affayres, but likewise to the good of his Subiects: Being that for them, and not

not for himselfe onely, a King was borne to the world. *Aduerte* (saith *Seneca* to the Emperor *Nero*) *rempublicam non esse tuam sed te reipublicæ.* Consider, that the Common-wealth is not thine, but thou the Common-wealths. Those first men who leauing solitude, assembled themselues to liue in a Community knew full well, that naturally, euery one careth for himselfe and his owne people, but no man that taketh care for all in generall. And therefore they did agree amongst themselues to choose one of more especiall valour and worth, to whom all might haue recourse. And that he, who among them all should be most renowned for his vertue, prudence, and fortitude, should preside ouer all the rest, and should rule and gouerne them; that he should be watchfull ouer all of them, that he should be solicitous of the common good and profit of them all, and to be as carefull of them, as a father would be of his children, or a Shepheard of his sheepe. And weighing with themselues, that such a kinde of Man, as this ought to be, imploying himselfe not in his owne, but other mens businesses, could not be able to maintaine himselfe, and his familie (for then all did eate of the labour of their owne hands, and the sweate of their browes) they did ioyntly resolue to finde his house, and to sustaine and maintaine him, that hee might not be withdrawen by other by-businesses, but apply himselfe wholy to those of the Common good, and to publicke gouernment. For this end were they established; This was the beginning that Kings had; and it ought to be the care of a good King, to care more for the publike, then his owne particular good. All his Greatnesse is at the cost of a great deale of care, trouble, vexation, and inquietude both of Soule and Body. He is wearinesse to himselfe; to others, he is their ease, their sustenance, and their defence. Like vnto your fayrest flowers, and fruits, which although they beautifie the tree, they are not so much for it, or for it 's owne respect, as for others. Let not any Man thinke that all the good doth consist

Seneca. lib. de Clem.

Regall power was first ordayned for the ease of the people.

consist in the beauty and brauery, wherewith the flower doth flourish; and in the goodly shew wherewith the Great ones of the world doe gallant it; your powerfull Kings and Princes, are flowers, but flowers which fade and wither, wast their life to preserue others, drawing care vpon themselues, and affording comfort vnto others, others more inioying the fruit, then they themselues. For (as *Philon Iudæus* saith) A King to his Kingdome, is that, which a wise man to the ignorant, a sheepheard to his sheepe, a father to his children, light vnto darkenesse, and that which God heere on earth is to all his creatures. For this Title he gaue vnto *Moses*, when he made him King, and Ruler ouer his people. Signifying vnto him, that he was to be as God, the common father of them all; For to all this doth the Office and dignitie of a King oblige him. *Omnium domos illius vigilantia defendit, omnium otium illius labor, omnium delitias illius industria, omnium vacationem illius occupatio.* His subiects houses are guarded and secured by his Vigilancie; their ease procured, by his labour, their delights inioyed, by his industry, and their merry vacations, by his painefull imployments. And therfore the Prophet *Samuell* sayd vnto king *Saul*, anon after he was annointed King ouer *Israel*; declaring vnto him the obligations of his Office; Behold *Saul*, now that God hath annointed thee King ouer all this Kingdome, that thy Office ties thee to it's generall gouernment. Thou wast not made King to sleepe and take thine ease, or to honour and authorize thy selfe by the dignitie Royall, but that thou shouldest gouerne and maintaine the people in peace, and iustice, and that thou shouldest protect and defend them from their enemies *Rex Eligitur, non vt sui ipsius curam habeat* (sayth *Socrates*) *et sese molliter curet, Sed vt per ipsum, ij qui eligerunt, bene beatéque viuant.* Kings are not chosen, that their whole care should be for themselues, to pamper the flesh, and to liue nicely and daintily; but that by him, they who had elected him, might liue well and happily

Seneca lib. de Consolat ad Polib. c. 26.

pily vnder him. They were not created, nor introduced into the world, for their owne commoditie, and their owne pleasure, and that all the good morsels should be for their owne trencher (for if it should be so, no man would willingly be subiect vnto them) but for the publicke profit and common good of all his subiects, for their happy gouernment, for their safe protection, their augmentation, conseruation, and in a word for their seruice; (and without any vnmannerlinesse, we may well tearme it so) for albeit in outward appearance the Scepter and the Crowne, haue the face of Empire and Signiory; yet in strictenesse and in rigour, it is but the Office of a Seruant. *Seruus Communis, siue Seruus honoratus:* The Common-wealths seruant, or a more honourable kind of Seruant. This is the attribute which some giue vnto a king. *Quia à tota republica stipendia accipit, vt seruiat omnibus.* Because he receiues stipends from all, that he may serue all. *And the Pope of Rome holds it no dishonour vnto him, to be stiled; Seruus seruorum Dei The Seruant of Gods seruants.* And howbeit anciently this name of seruant were infamous, yet after that our Sauiour Christ had in his own person taken it vpon him, it hath since beene accounted honorable. And as it is not repugnant and contradictory to the Essence and nature of the sonne of God, no more is it any preiudice or disparagement to the Maiestie and greatnesse of Kings. And this was well vnderstood by *Antigonus* King of *Macedonia*, who reprehending his sonne, for carrying too hard a hand ouer his Subiects, thus checkt his immoderate Empire; *An ignoras (fili mi) Regnum nostrum nobilem esse seruitutem?* Wootst thou not (my sonne) that our kingdome, is a Noble seruitude? Answering to that of *Agamemnon*; We liue (saith hee) in the opinion of the world in much greatnesse, and in high Estate, but in effect are but seruants and slaues to our Vassals. This is the Office of good Kings, to serue in this honourable manner. For, in being Kings, their Actions depend not on

Ælian. de varia Hist. lib. 2.

the sole will of their owne persons, but of the Lawes and Statutes which they haue giuen, and allowd of, and those conditions wherewith they accepted this their Soueraigntie. And though they should bee wanting to these (which are no more then a humane Conuencion, Couenant, or agreement betwixt Prince and people) yet may they not be defectiue in those, which the naturall and diuine Law hath layd vpon them; the Lady and Mistris as well of Kings as subiects. All which are in a manner contained in those words
Ier.22.3. of *Ieremy*, in which (according to S. *Ieromes* opinion) God sets downe the Office of Kings. *Facite iudicium & iustitiam, liberate vi oppressum de manu calumniatoris, & aduenam, & pupillum, & viduam nolite contristare, neq; opprimatis iniquè, & sanguinem innocentem ne effundatis*: Execute yee iudgement and righteousnesse, and deliuer the spoyled out of the hand of the oppressour, and doe no wrong, doe no violence to the stranger, the fatherlesse, nor the widowe, neither shed innocent blood. &c. This is the Summe wherein is cyphered vp the Office of a King. These the Lawes of his Court, whereby he is bound to mantaine in peace and Iustice, the fatherlesse, and the widowe; the poore and the rich; the mighty, and the weake. To his Account are put the *Agrauios* and wrongs which his Ministers doe vnto the one; and the Iniustice, which the other suffer. The wretched estate of those that are necessited, the cry of the distressed, and the teares that are shed out of anguish of heart; and a thousand other loades, euen wane-loades of cares and obligations, lye vpon the shoulders of him that is the Head, and King of a kingdome. And albeit he be the head in commanding and in gouerning, yet in bearing (if not often ouercharged therewith) the heauie weight and loade of all, hee must be the feete or supporters to beare the burthen of the whole body of the Common-wealth. Of
Iob.9.13. Kings and Monarkes, the iust men *Iob* sayth, that by reason of their Office, they carry (like Poters) the world on their shoulders,

shoulders, vnder which burthen the proudest helpers must stoope. In consideration whereof, it is sayd in the booke of *Wisedome*; *In veste poderis, quam habebat Summus sacerdos, totus erat orbis terrarum*: In the long garment, was the whole world. The Latin translation *in veste talari*, carryes more weight with it; so that, in taking vpon thee to be a King, thou must make account, to take so great a charge vpon thee and so heauie a load, as the strongest Carte will hardly be able to beare it. And this *Moses* knew well enough, whom God hauing made his Vice-roy, his Captaine Generall, and sole Liuetenant in the Gouernment; in stead of giuing him thankes for this so honourable a Charge committed vnto him, made his moane and complaint for hauing layd so heauy a loade vpon his shoulders. *Cur afflixisti seruum tuum? Cur impasuisti pondus omnium populi huius super me?* Wherfore hast thou afflicted thy seruant? And wherefore haue I not found fauour in thy sight, that thou layest the burthen of all the people vpon me? And proceedeth farther with his complaints, saying; *Numquid ego concepi omnem hanc multitudinem? Aut genui eam, vt dicas mihi; Porta eos?* Haue I conceiued all this people? Haue I begotten them, that thou shouldest say vnto me; Carry them in thy bosome, as the nursing father beareth the sucking child &c. Where it is worthy the noting; That God said not any one such word vnto *Moses*; But only commanded him, that he should rule and gouerne his people, that he should be their Captaine, and their Leader. And yet he heere sticks not to say, that hee layd the burthen of all the people vpon him; with this *Motto* added thereunto; *Porta eos*: Carry them &c. A man would thinke hee complaineth heere without a Cause; for God says no more vnto him; but that hee be their Captaine, and that hee take vpon him the rule, Command, and Gouernment of them. But to this it is answered. *Al buen entendedor, pocas palabras*: To a wise man, halfe a word is enough.

Num. 11. & 11.

Num. 11. 12.

And he that is wise, and well vnderstands what it is to gouerne, and to be a Head, knowes that Gouernment, and Charge, or Loade, is all one. And that the words themselues *Regere*, and *Regnare*, are Synonomyes, and haue one and the selfe same signification. For there is not any Gouernment, or charge, which is without it's burthen, and trouble. In that repartment and diuision of Offices, which *Iacob* conferr'd vpon his children, he marked out *Reuben* to be the first in Inheritance, and the greatest in gouernment. *Prior in donis, maior in imperio.* Thou art my first in the excellencie of dignitie, & the excellencie of power, which S. *Ierome* renders, *Maior ad portandum*; The greatest to beare. For Empire, and bearing, are both one thing. And by how much the Empire is the greater, by so much the greater is the toyle and trouble and the burthen the heauier. S. *Gregory* in his Moralls saith; That the power, Dominion, and Signorie, which Kings haue ouer their subiects, ought not to be esteemed an honour, but a trouble. *Potestas excepta, non honor, sed onus æstimatur.* And the blindest Gentiles did attaine to this light of truth. And one of them vsed the selfesame phrase of speech, speaking of another that was much puffed vp and well contented with the charge and office, which *Apollo* had allotted him.

Gen. 49 3.

Hierom. in Tradus. Hebraicis in Gen.

Gregor. lib. 24. Moral. c. 26.

Ouid. Metam.

Lætus erat, mixtæ oneri gaudebat honore.

So that to rule, and Command, is a Mixture of a little honour and much trouble. And the Latin word, which signifieth honour, doth not differ more then in one Letter from that which signifieth a loade or burthen. *Onos, & onus.* For (*H.*) is but an aspiration. Nor was there euer that man yet wanting, nor euer will be, to take (for Honours sake) this burthen vpon him. Though all of them can be well content, to take as little of the loade as they can vpon them, but as much of the Honor, as you will; howbeit this is not the secureſt Course.

But I shall conclude this Chapter with this *Aduiso*. That the Office of a King consists not so much in the outward operation, (though in this one is not to faile) as in the inward

inward apprehenſion. Which in it's owne nature may imbrace infinite things, not as infinite, but as ſuch as may be reduced to a few points, nor no more then ſhall be pointed at in this Treatiſe. Which ought alwayes, of a wiſe & prudent King, to be well vnderſtood, & to make vſe of as many of them as hee can, and which do more particularly appertaine vnto his Office, and to leaue the reſt vnto his Miniſters. A King muſt be like the Heart in the Body, which ſolely of it ſelfe cannot performe all thoſe offices, which all the members more particularly may. But by the helpe and meanes of diuers Inſtruments, members, and Organs, diffuſing & ſending forth their vertue vnto them, it findes it ſelfe in the operation of them all. The king, is the heart of the kingdome, and muſt worke therin like it, not doing all by himſelfe (for that is impoſſible, and inſtead of doing good, would do hurt) by keeping himſelfe in his proper Station, without tranſiliating that Circle which more particularly belongeth vnto him, and performing thoſe Offices, which another cannot execute for him, by his great power and vertue, he may in a diffuſiue manner haue recourſe to all the parts euen the moſt remote of his kingdome, take a care of all and haue a hand in all. And this care, is as proper to a King; as it is to the heart; it being impoſſible for the heart to liue without care. And from thence it takes it's name and Appellatiue. *Cor* (ſaith *Iſidore*) *dicitur à cura, Cor* (which is the Heart) is ſo called, *à Cura:* from it's care. For it is that, which takes care of Mans life. *Ego dormio, & Cor meum vigilat.* I ſleepe, but my Heart waketh. While Man ſleepes the heart ſtill beates, and taketh care of the life and conſeruation of the whole body, ſending forth to all the parts thereof, it's naturall vertue and heate, without the leaſt diſ-carefullneſſe in the world, looſing it's owne quiet, to giue Man eaſe. And therefore the Spouſe, called her Beloued, her Heart; becauſe hee performed this office with her. And the like muſt a King doe in his Kingdome. He muſt watch, and forgoe his owne ſleepe and quiet that

Iſidor. lib. 4. Etym.

Cant. 5. 2.

his Vassalls may take their ease and rest; vpon paine of being vnfaithfull and defectiue in that fidelitie which is due vnto the office of a King. This made S. *Paul* to say; *Si quis suorum curam non habet, fidem negauit.* If any prouide not for his owne, hee hath denied the faith, and is worse then an Infidel. The heart likewise hath another property very proper vnto Kings, which is, it's continuall beating on the left side. The Author of Nature being desirous by this secret to teach Kings, that they should apply themselues with more care to the weakest part, and that which hath most needs of their helpe. The right side is more assisted with naturall heate and blood, then the left, which is more stript of these fauours. And in this, the Heart showes, that Kings should shew their King-craft and the fineness of their care, towards poore needy people, and such as are destitute of all humane fauour. For to the rich and mighty, blood aboundeth, and nothing is wanting vnto them. God doth illighten Kings, which are the Heads of the people, to the end, that they may doe in their Kingdomes all that which a good Head ought to doe with it's body, by whose offices wee will goe, discoursing those of the mysticall Head of this body of a Common-wealth, which is the King; beginning first with the vnderstanding, and it's pertinencies, or whatsoeuer appertaineth thereunto, which is the first in perfection, and whereunto (in regard of it's Actiue beginning and end) the rest of the Sences are in ordination. According to that measure of Light which he shall vouchsafe to Communicate vnto vs, who is that true Light, which illighteneth euery Man that commeth into the world.

1. Tim. 5. 8.

CHAP. V.

Of the reason and vnderstanding of Kings, and of their wisedome.

IN good and true Philosophy, and the best receiued Diuinity, it is auerred, that the vnderstanding and naturall reason is the most principall power that is in Man, by which he is distinguished from Beasts; and is the *principium & radix*, the ground and root of wisedome. And by how much the more ingenious a man is, & of better vnderstanding, by so much the more is he capable thereof, and the more intensiuely doth he loue it. And for this cause did *Pythagoras* call wisemen Philosophers, Louers, or couetors of Wisdome; because the possession thereof doth set an edge on the desire, and makes a man to couet it the more, for it's treasure is infinite, and no man can exhaust it. And therefore the more a man hath of it, the more he desireth it. It is the retreit and receptacle of faith, and of all the Arts and Sciences, both practicke and speculatiue, hauing an vniuersall aptitude to receiue them all into it selfe, and vpon the apprehension of them to put them in execution. And although it be a *potentia* or faculty of a limited power, yet so great is it's capacity, and of that amplenesse and ableneſſe to receiue and containe, that it seemeth infinite, for let a man know neuer so much, yet can he not fill vp his knowledge. For such and such notions dispose the vnderstanding for others. Knowledge begetteth knowledge, and the more things a man knoweth, so much the more easily doth he apprehend those he knoweth not, till he come to the perfect inquiry and knowledge of the truth: and by

conuerſing with the wiſe, and exerciſe of good Letters, hee goes ſtill riſing higher and higher. And by how much the more a man is aduanced in his vnderſtanding, ſo much the more aduantage ſhall he haue of thoſe which haue not the ſame meaſure. Suting with that ſaying of the Comicke *Poet*, who wondering to ſee the great difference betweene man & man, cryes out, *Homo, homini quid præſtat!* So much doth one man differ from another in wiſdome and prudence, that they ſeeme to be different *ſpecies*. And hence is it that the aduantage which a wiſe man hath ouer thoſe that are not ſo, is, to make him King ouer all the people. Which leſſon God taught vs in the firſt King he made choice of for his people, who ſtanding in the midſt of his Subiects, was taller then any of them from the ſholders vpwards, ſo that his head
1 Sam. 10. 28. ſhew'd it ſelfe aboue them all. And the word *Melech* which in the originall ſignifieth a king, in that large & eminent Letter which ſtands in the midſt of it, doth miſtically giue vs to vnderſtand the excellency that aboue others, Kings ought to haue. And therefore *Plato* ſtiled a prudent and wiſe Gouernour, *Virum diuinum*, a diuine man; preſuppoſing that he ſhould be ſomewhat more then a man, and exceed in diuine wiſedome all other Gouernours whatſoeuer. *Vbi ſapiens, ibi eſt Deus in humano corpore.* And therefore, as God by way of eminency containeth the perfections of all the Creatures; ſo, (as farre forth as a Creature can) a wiſe King ſhould (and that with much aduantage) poſſeſſe the perfections of all his people. And the holy Scripture teacheth vs, that God created man after his own image and likeneſſe, giuing him Vnderſtanding, Memory, and Will. And ha-
Gen. 1. 26. uing created him, made him King ouer all he had created. *Vt præſit piſcibus Maris, & volatilibus Cœli, & beſtijs vniverſæ Terræ, &c.* To haue dominion ouer the Fiſh of the Sea, and ouer the Fowle of the Aire, & ouer the Cattle, &c. And this was granted him, and did accompany the common nature of men. But to rule, and command, to be Lord, and Gouer-

nour

nour ouer men themſelues, (as are Kings) is a farre greater matter, and ſuch as requireth a greater meaſure of Vnderſtanding and Wiſedome: and he that hath moſt ſtore thereof, ſhall reape the moſt profit by it, as he that wants it, ſhall contrarywiſe finde the lacke of it. *Saloman*, the wiſeſt of Kings, as he was both wiſe, and a King, could better then any other informe vs, of what importance are Vnderſtanding and Wiſdome in Kings. In whoſe name he ſpeaketh, when he ſaith, *Per me Reges regnant, per me Principes imperant*; *By me Kings reigne, and Princes decree iuſtice.* To the wiſeman the Scepter and Crowne of right belongeth. For wiſdome her ſelfe, as being the moſt eſſentiall forme of Kings, makes him King and Monarch ouer others. And in all Nations almoſt, they gaue the ſame name, and the ſame Enſignes to Empire and Wiſdome. And S. *Paul* makes them *Synonomies*, and will haue them to ſignifie one and the ſame thing. She alone (by keeping Gods commandements) will be ſufficient in a King to make him pleaſing and acceptable vnto God, and to be cut out according to the meaſure of his own heart. And though ſome are of a larger heart and vnderſtanding then other ſome; yet (with God) to be wiſe, is that which conueneth moſt both to King and Subiect. Prou. 8. 15.

By *Eſay* the Prophet God promiſeth to all his people a golden age, happy dayes, and fortunate times, wherein all ſhall haue a ſhare of happineſſe, peace, equity, iuſtice, health, content, and abundance of fruits. But comming vnto Kings, he ſaith no more, but that there ſhall not be any one that ſhall be a foole. *Non vocabitur vltrà is qui inſipiens eſt, Princeps.* This is a great happineſſe. But (O Lord) let mee aske thee; Is a King of worſe condition then his Subiects, that thou ſhouldſt promiſe ſo many good things vnto them, and but one alone vnto him? The anſwere hereunto is, that our good God giueth vnto euery one (according to his ſtate and calling) that which is fitteſt for him. The Subiect who hath one to rule and gouerne him, hath need of one to miniſter

minister iustice vnto him, to conserue him in peace, and to make such prouision, that he may haue wherewith to eate, and the like. But a King, who is to rule and gouerne, hath need of wisedome, which is the life and soule of Kings, which sustaineth the weight of a Kingdome, and without which (be they neuer so rich, neuer so powerfull) they shall be as fit for gouernment, as a body without a head, or an head without a soule. And as from the soule the Sences are origined, and from that essence result your passions; so in like sort from wisedome resulteth vnto King, and Kingdome, all that good and happinesse that can be desired. *Rex sapiens, stabilimentum est Ciuitatis. A wise King is the vpholding of the people.* And a foolish King the ruine of his Subiects. You shall not name that Nation either barbarous, or ciuill, which (where Kings were made by election) did not make choice of a wise and prudent King.

Wisd. 6.24.

Iudg. 9.8. In that generall Dyet, where all the Nations of Trees and Plants met, seeing that without Law, and without a King, they could not conserue themselues in peace, and iustice; the first resolution they tooke, was to choose a wise King. And in the first place they nominated the *Oliue*, a tree of many good parts and qualities; and amongst other, this the chiefest; that it was the Symbole or Hierogliffe of wisedome, which is all whatsoeuer can be desired in a King.

Psal. 119.144. This alone did King *Dauid* desire for himselfe: *Intellectum da mihi, & viuam; Giue me vnderstanding, and I shall liue.* He did not desire life, nor health, nor riches, but onely vnderstanding and wisedome. And with this alone did he promise to himselfe eternall life, and a durable Kingdome.

Wisd. 6.21. And therefore, *Si delectamini sedibus & sceptris, ô Reges populi, diligite sapientiam, vt in perpetuum regnetis; If your delight be in Thrones and Scepters, O ye Kings of the people, honour wisedome, that ye may raigne for euermore.*

Plat. lib. 1. de Repub. Happy is that Common-wealth (saith *Plato*) which hath a wise King. And vnhappy that (saith another Philosopher)

pher) which hath a King without wisedome.

Aristotle tearmed the *Thebans* happy, all the while that they were gouerned by those that were wise. Of such consequence is wisedome in a King, that vpon the very rumour that he is a wise Prince, all presently obay, and sooner submit themselues, then at the noise of his power. As was to be seene in King *Salomon*, whose wisedome was no sooner knowen to the people, but they began presently to respect and feare him. *Membrin. Ros. cap. 33.*

But let me aske this question: Shall it suffice a King to haue vnderstanding and wisdome, vnlesse he make vse thereof, and shew a willingnesse to execute what he knowes? No certainly. For the greatnesse of a power or faculty consisteth in it's operation. The Vnderstanding without Intelligence, (like the Will without Loue) serues to little or no purpose. And it is doubted (as I toucht in the beginning) vpon which of these two *potentias*, or faculties, is that arme and hand, whereby the soule operateth it's most excellent workes? The vnderstanding alleageth for himselfe, that it is he that in the kingdome of our soule doth ordaine, dispose, and gouerne. The Will, she saith, that without her nothing is done. For as the Philosophers tearme it, *Applicat potentias ad operandum*, she sets these faculties a worke, and findes them hands. The Vnderstanding confesseth this is true; but with all saith, it is he that nods and winckes vpon her, makes signes and tokens vnto her, is as it were the Watch-word, & doth expose vnto her whether she will this or that, for the better ordering & disposing of it. The Will, she on the other side replyes, that she likewise fomenteth and affectionates the Vnderstanding, and doth excite and sollicite him, that he study, thinke, and dwell vpon that which she best liketh. But leauing the resolution of this Controuersie to your *Thomists*, and *Scotists*, who dispute it at large; the Vnderstanding (as I said before) is a Regall power which ruleth & gouerneth in man, and is that Starre which guideth

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and giueth light to the whole house of the soule; yet is the Will so much Mistresse, that nothing is done without her. Nor can God himselfe (by violence) draw a yea, or a nay from it, without trespassing vpon that liberty wherewith he created it; for in it's owne nature it is free: and (as Philosophy informeth vs) it cannot be forced. *Cætera potentiæ possunt capi, non tamen voluntas.* But the common receiued opinion is, that both the one and the other must concurre for the effecting of any free worke. Insomuch, that it is impossible to performe any action of importance, vnlesse that both doe intend the same. We must plucke the reynes of both, hold both of them in our hands, if we meane to rule and gouerne the soule as we ought; the Vnderstanding directing, and the Will operating. And therefore a deuout King, after that hee hath begg'd vnderstanding of God, that hee may be able to study and meditate on the obseruance of his diuine Law, for the conseruation of himselfe, and his kingdome; finding that this is not sufficient if the Will should draw another way, let him presently pray vnto him, that he incline his Will, and so dispose thereof, that he may not onely will his Will, but that hee may take pleasure to put it in practise. In strictnesse, and in rigour, that is not Wisedome, nor deserueth the name thereof, which is hung'd vp in the Head, and goes not from the Vnderstanding to the hand, and from the Will to the Worke. *Non enim sapientia est* (saith S. *Bernard*) *quæ quod sapit, non exercet; Wisedome without practise is not Wisedome.*

There are some of whom all men sticke not to say, that he is of great vnderstanding, a man of admirable abilities, singular wisedome, &c. And yet no man knowes wherein his Knowledge lies, nor can discerne his Wisdome in his Actions. It is necessary that this opinion should be ratified and confirmed by exterior Actions, and some publique demonstrations. Of King *Dauid* the holy Ghost saith, that hee did gouerne his people with the vnderstanding of his hands.

Et

Et in intellectibus manuum suarum deduxit illos. It is a cleare case that the hands haue no other particular vnderstanding in a distinct manner, or distinguished from that which the soule hath; and this is in the Head, and not in the hands. But the meaning of that place is, that in the Workes of his hands, and in all his Actions, the King manifested his great Vnderstanding and Wisedome: Which if it remaine onely in the huske, or shell, it is good for nothing. *Sicut fides, ita & sapientia, sine operibus mortua est*; *Wisedome* (saith S. *Bernard*) *is like Faith, without good Workes it is dead.* That King therefore that shall haue wisedome inough in, and for himselfe, and shall execute and shew the same in the gouernment of his kingdome, and exercise the same amongst his Subiects, he shall be great in all his kingdomes heere on Earth, and great likewise in the kingdome of Heauen.

Salomon, when God had giuen him wisedome, did not onely attend the speculatiue part, but the practicke; which is the principall thing in him that ruleth. *Apposui cor meum, vt viderem sapientiam, & occupationem*: (for so the Septuagint translate it.) But rendered by the vulgar: *I applyed mine heart to know wisdome, and to see the businesse that is done vpon Earth*; for in Wisedome, and the good exercise thereof, consisteth all the good gouernment of a Common-wealth. This being presupposed, and what else in the subsequent Chapters shall be spoken hereof, I say, That it is not required of Kings, that they should be so wise and skilfull in all Arts and Faculties, as King *Salomon* was, and others, which make profession thereof; nor yet so illiterate, as the Emperour *Licinius*, which was such an Idiot, and such a beast, that he knew not how to firme or set his hand to any Deed, or Writing. Or as that other *Michael Balbo*, which was such an enemy vnto Learning, that hee would neither study good Letters himselfe, nor suffer the children of his time to be bred vp therein. Eccl. 8. 16.

That

That which is to be required of euery good King, is; that he haue so much wisedome, as to be able to aduise himselfe, and to make benefit of the Councell of others. That he be wise enough to know what is good and iust, and what is bad and ill, that he may vse the one, and shun the other. *Is enim moderatus est sapiens* (saith *Socrates*) that hath Courage to execute, and Will to doe. On those Bases, which the most wise King *Salomon* placed in the Temple, hee commanded Lions, Oxen, and Cherubins to be ingrauen, in signification of so many the like qualities which Kings ought to haue, who sustaine the whole weight of a kingdome. He must be in perpetuall labour, signified in the Oxe; he must be endued with courage, expressed in the Lion; and he must abound in knowledge, notified in the Cherubin. Wherfore *Cicero* likewise maketh mention; *Hæ sunt* (saith that Heathen Orator) *virtutes Imperatoriæ, Labor in negotijs, Fortitudo in periculis, Industria in agendo*: To assist in businesses, to be stout and valiant in dangers, to be dextrous and wise in acting, and aboue all, to haue a liberall will without subiection, and readily disposed for execution, are vertues befitting an Emperour. For to gouerne well, great strength, great courage, great wisedome, great power, and a great willingnesse will be required. For, though a King know much, and can doe much; yet, if he will not exercise his knowledge, nor make vse of his power, it is all one as if he neither knew, nor could doe any thing. The Leaper said to our Sauiour Christ, *Domine, si vis, potes me mundare*; *If thou wilt, thou canst make me cleane.* And Christ made him answer, not in word onely, but in deed; *Volo, mundare*; *I will, be thou cleane.*

1 Kings 7. 29.

Cicero in Orat. pro lege Manil.

CHAP.

CHAP. VI.

How Kings ought to carry themselues in those businesses, which their Vnderstanding comprehendeth not.



NRegard that the Vnderstanding is amongst all other faculties the Noblest, it is that (without doubt) which doth least render and yeeld it selfe; but is most sencible of the offence it receiueth in submitting it selfe. Whereupon oftentimes it sticketh close to it's opinion, and what it hath once intertained, it obstinately maintaineth and defendeth. And therefore the Philosopher, said; *Amicus Plato, sed maior Veritas: Plato* is my friend, but the truth more. In confirmation whereof we daily see, that the deareſt and neereſt friends, and that are one and the same in their will and affection, in their vnderstanding and opinion are diuerse and different. Each of them maintaineth his owne particular Tenet, and yet without offence continew still good friends. In a word, in matter of Knowledge and Vnderstanding, because it is a thing that cannot be measured out by the yard, or meate out by inches, there is not that Man, that can indure *Maioria*, or that another should goe before him, or get the start of him in that kinde. Euery one resteth satisfied with his owne Vnderstanding, and conceiues that his reason is the best; and few will bee brought to acknowledge, that they are in an errour. And in a manner all men flatter themselues with their owne opinion, and thinking they are in the right, they are so farre from yeelding, that they stiffely maintaine what they haue vndertaken & you shall not beate them out of it, as being perswaded that they haue the better end of the staffe

staffe in their hands. And hence arise those earnest contentions, and endlesse questions in your Consultations, and debating of Causes, those crosse incounters and differences in determining great businesses, persisting violently in their opinion, though it bee neuer so contrary vnto reason. And though this be a common infirmitie, and a generall fault in all of what state and condition soeuer, yet your great persons in this point runne the greatest perill. For (as the sonne of *Sirach* saith) all doe approue and celebrate their sayings, not in that onely, wherein they speake home to the purpose, but when they speake foolishly, and vtter things not to bee spoken. *Locutus est diues, & omnes tacuerunt, & verbum illius vsq; ad nubes perducent*: When a rich man speaketh, euery man holdeth his tongue, and looke what he saith, they extoll it to the cloudes. For opinion being now, (as long since) Mistris of the World; shew ouerswaies substance, and authoritie checketh reason. It is not Goodnesse, but Greatnesse, that strikes the stroke. But if a Prince would bee so holy, and so zealous of the good of his Kingdome, haue hee neuer so able a braine, neuer so much Knowledge and Vnderstanding, (acknowledging what a large extent of Wisedome is required for the gouerning of a Kingdome, as it ought to be gouerned) that hee would be pleased to receiue some helpe and assistance, hee hath very secure and certaine remedies in this case, and all of them ordred and ordained by the Holy Ghost. The first is, To begge of God (and that with a great deale of faith and Confidence) Light, and Wisedome; Conforming himselfe to that of S. *Iames*; *Si quis vestrum indiget sapientia postulet à deo, qui dat omnibus affluenter, & non improperat & dabitur ei*: *If any of you lacke wisedome, let him aske of God that giueth to all men liberally, and vpbraideth not; and it shall be giuen him.* And for asmuch as in Kings, this acknowledgment is vsually more difficult, for that they are free, and without dependance on any in their owne kingdomes

Eccl. 13. 23.

Iames. 1. 5.

domes, so much the more acceptable in this kind are their prayers vnto God. As King *Solomon* exemplifieth it vnto vs; who confessing the shortnesse of his vnderstanding, and his want of Wisedome, for to gouerne so great a people that could not bee numbred, nor counted for multitude, acknowledging himselfe to be but as a little child, and that hee knew not how to goe out, or come in, and humbly beseeching God, that hee would be pleased to supply this defect, he found so much fauour in his sight that he appeared vnto him after a solemne sacrifice, and said; *Postula quod vis, vt dem tibi.* Aske, what I shall giue thee. And this young King with a great deale of thankefulnesse and submission, sayd; *Domine deus tu regnare fecisti seruum tuum &c. O Lord my God, thou hast made thy Seruant King in stead of Dauid my father, &c. And thy seruant is in the midst of the people which thou hast chosen, a great people &c. Giue therefore thy Seruant an vnderstanding heart, to iudge thy people, that I may discerne betweene good and bad, and be able to goe in and out before thy people.* And howbeit this discreete young King saw the doore of Gods mercie set thus wide open vnto him, and what a liberall offer he had made vnto him, to bestow fauours vpon him according to the measure of his owne desire, yet did hee neither set his eyes, nor his heart vpon Gold, Siluer, Riches, or long life, but as one, that knew so well how to aske, desired that he would out of his grace and mercy, giue him the gift of Wisedome, that hee might know how to gouerne his State and Kingdomes, and to conserue them in peace and Iustice. And God was so well pleased with this his Petition, that he did not onely bestow that vpon him, but many other blessings with it, and (as the Apostle saith) *affluenter*, in a great aboundance making him the wisest, the discreetest, and the greatest king, that euer was in the world. And besides, gaue him all that which hee omitted to desire, or might haue desired. To wit, long life, full of prosperitie, honour, and riches. He did not account of these, in comparison of wisedome,

1.King.3.5.

2.Chron.1.10.

and yet all those other fauours were conferred vpon him; *Quia hoc magis placuit cordi tuo, & non postulasti diuitias, &c: Because this was in thy heart, and thou hast not asked*
2.Chron.1.11. *riches, wealth, or honour, nor yet hast asked long life, but hast asked Wisedome and knowledge for thy selfe, that thou mayst iudge my people, ouer whom I haue made thee King; Wisedome and Knowledge is granted vnto thee, and I will giue thee Riches, and Wealth, and Honour, such as none of the Kings haue had, that haue beene before thee, neither shall any after thee haue the like.* This very goodnesse, this same Wisedome, did his father *Dauid* beg of God. *Bonitatem, & disciplinam & scientiam, doce me: Teach me good*
Psal.119.66. *iudgement and knowledge.* Which is all that can be wish't, or desired for to gouerne well. In a word, most certaine it is, that Wisedome is the gift of God, and that it is purchased (as was that of *Salomons*) with humble perseuering, and confident prayer. God can, and doth make of Stones sons of *Abrahan*, which (according to the Language of the holy Scripture) are wise and prudent men. *Sambucus*
Sambus.in prob. saith, that *Apollo* being consulted with touching the helpe of wisedome; made answer, that hee knew no other remedie for it but silence. For he that is ignorant of a thing, by his talking, bewrays his ignorance: and by holding his peace is reputed wise. Which the Holy Ghost confirmeth vnto vs in that place of the *Prouerbs*, where it is said; *Stultus si tacuerit, sapiens reputabitur; & si compresserit labia sua, intelligens:*
Prou.17.28. *A foole when he holdeth his peace is counted wise, & hee that shutteth his lips, is esteemed a man of Vnderstanding. It is great wisedome in a man to know then how to hold his peace, when hee knowes not how to speake to the businesse. And great discretion in him, rather to couer his defect, then publish his ignorance:* Answearing vnto that which a Law of the *Partida* de-
Ley.5.Tit.4. Part.2. liuers, speaking there of a King. *E siel no fuere home de gran seso por lassus palabras entendran los homes, lamengua que ha del.* And if he shall not be a man of great wisedome, by his words,

words, the people will vnderstand the want he hath thereof. Wisdomes defect is supplied by silence. And it is S. *Gregories* censure vpon those words of *Iob*: *Vtinam taceretis, vt putaremini esse sapientes. Oh that you would altogether hold your peace, and it should be your wisedome.* Iob.13.5. At least, it is the Counsaile of the wise, that Kings ought to striue and indeauour, that no man should know all their store, nor be able to sadome the depth of that their sea of knowledge, for the danger of the discouerie of a deceit; for many times it importeth more in those that are led away with affection, and those likewise that are strangers, to be ignorant whither and how far, the worth and wisedome of a Prince extends it selfe, then the experience and proofe thereof. And becausse sometimes vpon occasion Kings are forced to discouer that, which otherwise were fit to be concealed, it is very meete and conuenient, that they should vse few, graue, and well-weighed words, making no shew of their owne proper satisfaction. Wherein wise men haue found much greatnesse, besides an augmentation of their wisedome, and prudence. *Qui moderatur sermones suos* (saith *Salomon*) *doctus, & prudens est*: *He that hath knowledge, spareth his words*: *Homer* saith, That in Kings, and such as præside and rule, short and full language deliuered with Maiestie, is much to be applauded & commended. And *Socrates* giues this Precept to his king; In all that thou shalt say, thinke, or doe, beare this alwayes in thy memorie, that thou art a King, and therefore oughtst not either to doe, or say any thing, vnworthy so great a name. *Octauius Cæsar*, when he was to speake to the Senate or people of Rome, did neuer performe that Office but with a great deale of good Order in his words, and deliberation in his matter, committing first to memorie that which he was to say vnto them. And if the businesse were of great weight & consequence indeed, he brought his papers along with him, and deliuered them his minde in writing, becausse hee would say neither more, nor lesse, then what with premeditation Prou.17.27.

he had resolued to acquaint them with all.

And aboue all, the particular, (if not the onely) remedie to solder all breaches, and defaults of knowledge and experience in businesses, is that receipt which we haue from the son of *Syrach*, who aduiseth his sonne not to determine any thing without Counsaile. *Fili, sine consilio nihil facias, & post factum, non pœnitebis.* Which the Vulgar rendreth thus; Do nothing without aduice, and when thou hast once done, repent not. For if it hit right, the glorie shall be thine; and if it miscarry, thou shalt find sufficient excuse. *Cicero* was wont to say, that he did esteeme it a greater honor vnto him to erre, following *Plates* opinion and counsell then to happen right, and to hit the nayle (as we say) on the head, by adhering to others of lesse credit and reputation. It is a rule of prudence (saith *S. Hilary*) That a wise man should aske aduice in that he knowes not. For, that man is very apt to erre, that is not willing to heare, & stands in his own light, that neither knowes how to aske, nor how to apply himselfe to other mens opinions. Being (as it is in the *Prouerb*) *Mas ven quattro gi ois, que dos*; foure eyes, see more then two. And with so many eyes doth a man see, and with so many eares doth a man heare, by how many the more friends he hath to aduise him. Doe not (as many doe, and haue done) perswade thy selfe, that thou knowst more then all the world besides; (an ordinary disease in (Princes) who seeing themselues seated in such high thrones, to be so rich, and so powerfull, take themselues to be the wisest and prudentest men vpon earth. Yet let them know that they brought not from their mothers wombe more prudence or wisedome, then other ordinary folkes. *Nemo enim ex regibus aliud habuit natiuitatis initium.* King, and Clowne, Rich and Poore, when they are borne, draw in the common ayre, and being fashioned to be flesh after ten monthes compaction in blood, fall vpon the earth which is of like nature. The first voice vttred by Kings, is Crying, as all others doe. There is no King, that hath any other beginning of birth; For all men haue one entrance vnto life, and

Eccl 32, 19.

Hilar. in Psal. 118.

Wis. 7.

and the like going out. We come all into the world with our bare skins on our backs, and as naked of knowledge, as cloathes, being subiect in the rest to industrie, instruction, and others counsaile, and aduice, which is that which supplieth the defects of nature. Rationall soules, are all of them equall and alike in their creation, and essentiall perfection, though they differently discouer themselues in some bodies, more then in other some, in regard of the better or not so good disposition of the Organs, and by consequence, their vnderstandings come to be differenced, and the conceipts of the one, to bee of a higher straine then the other. A man shall see more clearely through a Christall glasse, then that which is of a thicker and grosser metall. Our body is nothing else but a glasse; nor haue all bodies this good disposition; Nor haue Kings, ioyntly with their power, the selfe same measure in their vnderstanding, wisedome, and prudence. But say they had; it will be no hurt to them, but a great deale of good and aduantage, to heare, and take aduice. For, *audiens sapiens, sapientior erit.* A wise man by hearing, will be made the wiser. *Audi consilium, vt sis sapiens in nouissimis tuis.* Heare counsaile, and receiue instruction, that thou mayst be wise in the latter end. And neuer in hard and difficult businesses, should any man (be he neuer so wise) refuse to take aduise. And besides, it sauours of much wisedome; not to doe any thing without it. *Qui agunt omnia in Consilio, reguntur sapientia:* With the well aduised (saith the holy Ghost) is wisedome: And there is no man so wise that is wise in all things. The best and skilfullest Physitian in the world knowes not how to cure himselfe, neither will he trust only to his own opinion, but calleth another vnto him, aduiseth with him, takes his Counsaile, and puts himselfe vnder his cure. *Euricus* king of the *Gothes*, said in the *Toletane* Councell; That euen those workes, which in themselues were very good, and did much import the Common-wealth, were by no means

Prou. 19. 20.

Prou. 13. 10.

Concil. Tol.

to be done, or put in execution, without the Counsaile of those that were good Ministers, and well affected to the State, vpon paine not onely of losse of discretion, but to be condemned as the onely ouerthrowers of the Action. Things being so various, and so many, and weighty the businesses as are those which come vnder the hands of Kings, and claime their care to bee treated of, the successe of them, must needes run a great deale of danger, when there precedeth not some diligent and mature Counsaile. Kings (I assure you) had neede haue good both Counsailours and Counsaile, hauing so many eyes as they haue vpon them, some officious, and some of enuie, so many that goe about to deceiue, and doe deceiue them; and many, that doe not loue them as they ought; I say they had neede of good both Counsailours and Counsaile, and such a Counsell as is more close and priuate, as that of the Councell of State, and sometimes, and in some cases with a little more restriction and reseruednesse, making choise of one, two, or more of their faithfullest and sufficientest Counsellours, with whom they may freely Communicate their greater, and lesser affaires, and be resolued by them in matters of greater moment, and such as importe their own proper preseruation, and the augmentation of their Kingdome, such as the Historians of *Augustus* paint forth vnto vs, which kinde of course, the Princes before and since his time haue taken, and now at this present, doe. From the poorest Plowman, to the Potentst Prince, from the meanest Shepheard, to the mightiest Monarke, there is a necessitie of this Counsaile. And in effect, euery one as hee can, (comformable to his Estate, and calling) must Consult with his Wife, his Sonne, his Friend, or himselfe, (if his fortune afford him not a Companion, whom he may trust, or make his Confident). How much doth it concerne Kings, who possessing such great Estates, and being subiect to so many Accidents, haue need of a more perfect and Com-

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plete Councel. And not any thing so much importeth them for the conseruation, and augmentation of their Kingdomes, as to haue about them iust, prudent, & dis-interessed persons, to aduise them with a great deale of faithfullnesse, and loue, and with free libertie of Language to represent the truth of that, which to them, and their Common-wealth, is most fitting and conuenient. Who, for this purpose, are as necessarie as great treasures, and mighty Armies. That holy King *Dauid*, was more a fraid of the aduise of one wise Counsellour, which his son *Absolon* had with him, then of all the Men of Warre that followed him and his fortunes. *Plutarke*, and *Aristole* floute at Fortune in businesses that succeede well, when men doe gouerne themselues by good Counsell. And for this cause, they stiled Counsaile the eye, of those things that are to come, because of it's foresight. And for that wee haue treated heeretofore of the qualities of all sortes of Counsailours, I now say; That with much deliberation and aduise, Kings are to make choise of those persons, which are to aduise and Counsaile them. For from their hitting or missing the marke, resulteth the vniuersall good or ill, of the whole Kingdome.

Plut. in P. Æmil Arist. c. 8. Mag. moral.

It is the common receiued opinion, That the maturest and soundest Counsaile, is to be found in those men, that are growne wise, by their Age, and experience, which is the naturall Daughter of *Time*, and the Mother of good Counsaile. *Tempus enim multam, & variam doctrinam parit.* It is *Euripides* his saying; Suting with that of *Iob*, *In antiquis est sapientia, & in multo tempore, prudentia*: In the ancient, is wisedome, and in much time, prudence. Long time, is a great Master, which doth graduate men in the knowledge of things, and makes them wary, prudent, and circumspect, which is much (if not wholly) wanting in young men. And therefore *Aristotle* saith of them, that they are not good for Counsaile, because Wit, more then Wisedome in them, hath it's force and Vigour. *Et tenero*

Eurip. lib. 12.

Seniore in Prouincia congrega, & eos interroga, facilius namq; inuenitur quod a pluribus Senioribus queritur.

tractari pectore inesse, saith *Claudian*. And *S. Ierome* is of the minde, that young Witts, cannot weild weighty matters. And that their Counsailes, are rash and dangerous, like vnto that they gaue King *Rehoboam*; By whose inconsiderate aduise he lost his Kingdome. The same course hauing cost others as deare; as is proued vnto vs out of S. *Austen*. And therefore the *Grecians*, *Romans*, *Lacedemonians*, *Carthaginians*, and other Common-wealthes which were good obseruers of their Lawes and Customes, did ordaine; That a young man how wise so euer hee might seeme to be, and of neuer so good and approued iudgement, should not be admitted to the Counsell Table, till he were past 50. yeares of Age, who being adorned with Vertue, and experience, might assure them that hee would keepe a *Decorum* in all his Actions, and performe his dutie in euery respect. *Lex erat* (sayth *Heraclides*) *ne quis natus infrà quinquaginta, vel magistratum gerat, vel Legationem obiret.* In fine for Councell *Sereda* and *Baldus*, affirme; That the very shadow of an old man, is better then the eloquence of a young man. But because good Counsailes are not in our hands, but in Gods hands, who, as *Dauid* saith; *Dissipat consilia gentium & reprobat consilia principum*: *The Lord bringeth the Counsaile of the Heathen to nought, hee maketh the deuises of Princes of none effect*. And the wisest of Kings tells vs. *Non est sapientia, non est prudentia, non est consilium contra Dominum*: *There is no Wisedome, no vnderstanding, no Counsell against the Lord*. And in humane things, there are so many Contingencies that mans wisedome is not alwaies sufficient to determine the best, nor to hit aright in his Counsailes, vnlesse the Holy Ghost be interuenient, interpose it selfe, and assist in them. For let Priuie-Counsellours beate out their braines with plodding and plotting, let them be neuer so vigilant, neuer so studious, they shall erre in their ayme, and shoote beside the butt, if hee direct not the arrow of their Councell and wisedome; if he

S. Aug. ad fratres in erem. Ser. 14.

Heraclides in Politicis.
Senec Epist. 60.
Bald. in cap. 1. de renun.

Psal. 33. 10.

Prou. 21. 30.

he do not in Secret illighten their hearts; illuminate their vnderstanding, and dictate vnto them, what they are to doe. Which is done by the infusiue gift of the Holy Spirit co-operating in vs, which is a diuine impulsion which doth eleuate & raise vp our vnderstanding to hit the white and to choose that according to the rule the Diuine Law) which is fit to be followed, as also to be avoided. And this is the gift of Councell giuen by God vnto his friends, and such as serue him truly; to the end that by his helpe, they may light aright vpon that, which of themselues they could neuer come neere. And he that is not Gods friend, nor studies by his Actions to be so, let him shake hands with the Holy Ghost, let him bid this blessed Spirit farewell, this diuine gift, which is the best (saith *Nissenus*) and the most perfect, that is in Man: so that for to giue Counsaile and Aduice, yeares, experience, and gray hayres, suffice not; vnlesse his soule be as white as his head, and his conscience be pure and cleane from corruption. *Cani enim sunt sensus hominis*: The good abilities, and wise apprehensions of man, are those true siluer haires, those hoary locks, which countenance him, and adde authoritie, vnto him, and not those snowie flakes, nor hoare-frost, that lies vpon his beard. *Ætas Senectutis, vita immaculata*: Wisedome is the gray hayre vnto men, and an vnspotted life, is old age. So the wiseman renders it of vertuous olde men: *Galen* saith that they haue the facultie of aduising, and that of them wee must aske Counsaile. God Commanded *Moses*, that he should make choise of the Elders of *Israel* to gouerne his people. *De senibus Israel, quos tu nosti, quod senes populi sint*: Gather vnto me 70. men of the Elders of *Israel*, whom thou knowest to be the Elders of the people. Hoary-headed men (accompanied with much vertue, an approued life, soundnesse of Religion, and much prudence) are those that are worthy to giue Counsaile, and those which Kings are to make choyse of for their seruice. The Emperour *Charles* the fift sayd it was fit, that Princes should be serued by men that were learned and vertuous, and that the

Greg Nyss. lib. de lib. arbitrio.

Galen de cognosc. curand. animi morbis. cap. 3.

Wisd. 4. 9.

Numb. 11. 16.

Counsaile

Counsaile, and companie of those which were not so, were very preiudiciall and hurtfull. Counsailours likewise must be of that greatnesse of courage and magnanimitie, as may correspond with the Dignitie royall. For Kings that haue not had in themselues any great courage, haue still honoured noble-minded Counsailours, whereas the contrary haue bin disgraced, and degraded of their honours by Kings that were naturally magnanimous. For it is the condition of cowardly hearts, and of base Counsailours *en cuerpo, y alma* (as they say) in body, and soule; to propose vnto their Kings base and vnworthy meanes, for the remedying of some mischieses, whereon others follow, that are farre greater. And let them not perswade them, that this Age is barraine of vertuous dispositions, and Noble mindes, which produceth, as well as former times, whatsoeuer is necessary and needefull for them. For, the diuine prudence (to which particularly appertaineth the conseruation of kingdoms) is neuer drawen dry, neuer waxes weary. And if such men are wanting, and appeare not to the eye of the world, it is, because they are not sought after, or not admitted to Councell, for the chastisement and punishment of our great and heinous sinnes. Besides, this one benefit Kings haue aboue others, that all good men would be glad to serue them, and many do sue and seeke after them, and offer their seruice vnto them; So that, they haue store of choise, and may easily make good election, if therein they will strip and cleanse themselues of their affections, and passions, which Eclipse and darken the true iudgement of man. And these, that I now speake of, when they haue found them, and made choise of them to be of their Councell; let them loue them, honour them, and trust them. And as they shall receiue ease and honour by their good Aduise; So let them reward them, and conceiue of them, as king *Alexander* did of his Master, and Counsellour *Aristotle*, of whom he said, that he ought no lesse respect vnto him, then vnto his owne father. For from his father he had his life,

life, his honour, and his kingdome; but from *Aristotle*, his Instructions, Counsailes, and directions, how he should order himselfe in all his affaires. And *Scipio*, doth attribute all the honour of his Victories to his faithfull friend and Counsellour *Lælius*. And *Cicero*, to the Philosopher *Publius*, for those notable things of his gouernment, which he performed in his Consullship: so that good and faithfull Counsailours, are of great honour, profit, and ease vnto Kings. But let Kings take heede, least they strike a feare into their Counselours, through their absolute and free condition, and make them to withdraw themselues from aduising them what is fitting, by seeing them so wedded to their owne opinion, and to excuse themselues from giuing Counsaile, for that they are dis-heartned & discountenanced by them for deliuering their mindes freely for their profit, & honour. Of the Emperour *Adrian* it is storyed, that hee had so noble a condition, *Vt libenter patiebatur admoneri & corrigi vel ab humili persona:* That he willingly submitted himselfe to be admonished and reproued of the meanest person. It is proper to gentile brests, & generous hearts, to listen with delight to the good reasons, & Counsailes of others, though they be inferiour in qualitie vnto them: for sometimes a poore man hits right, when a rich man misses the marke. And a Country Clowne may aduise that, which a king knowes not of. And if he do perswade himselfe, that he knoweth all, and vnderstandeth all, and that his opinion alone is the certainest & surest, he but shuts the doore to the discouery of his errour. One of the two things (saith *Hesiod*) which euery man of reason, wisdome, and vnderstanding, that shall be sufficient to gouerne that, which shall be committed to his charge, ought to haue; is a great blandure, smoothnesse, and softnesse of heart, to follow the opinion, aduise and Counsaile of those that are the wisest and know most. This *blandure*, and *docilitie*, is likewise a part of Prudence, and we shall finde it set downe in expresse words, in those two Petitions, which *Salomon* made vnto God. For in

Cicero lib. 4. epist. fam. epist. vltima.

the

2.Chron.2.10. the second of the *Chron.* It is written, that he sayd; *Da mihi sapientiam: Giue me wisedome.* And in the first of the *Kings*; 1.Kings.3.9. *Dabis ergo seruo tuo cor docile: Giue therefore thy seruant an vnderstanding heart.* Vnderstanding, for to know, and an obedient heart, for to heare the Aduise of others. But this second part, of being obedient to other mens opinions, is vnprofitable for gouernment, without the first, which is prudence, and wisedome, for to choose and know the best. For, by following bad Counsaile, he shall erre as much, as if he followed his owne proper errour; and sometimes more. And I should hold it the lesse euill, that a king were not ouerwise, if presuming that he is; he should relie too much vpon himself, & scorne to take counsaile; then if he were lesse wise, but knew how to benefit himselfe, and make good vse of the Aduise of prudent and wise Counsailours. A Prince, of a docile and ingenious disposition, is well disposed to intertaine all good Counsaile and doctrine. He easily learneth the languages of all those nations, which are vnder his Empire, & doth all things with as much facilitie, as if he had beene bred vp in euery one of them. And therefore sayd *Herodotus*; *Omnia sapientibus facilia*: To the wise, all things are easie. And therefore your wise men, giue the first place vnto that man, who of himselfe knowes that which is fitting. And the second, to him, that knowes how to follow good Counsaile. But he, that neither is wise, nor will be ruled by the wise, they know not in what forme to place him, nor what name to giue him. *Plato*, calls them Children, and further saith; That such men, as are not wise, though they be neuer so aged, are still Children. And *Seneca* proueth, that they begin euery day to liue because they vnderstand no more, then the child that is new borne. And *Strabo* is of the same minde. *Omnes Idiotæ, & doctrinarum expertes, quodammodo pueri sunt appellandi*, All Idiots, and illiterate persons, are after a sort to be called Children. And because in the Chapters that are to follow by and by, we are to treate more at large of this matter, I conclude this with saying;

Aug.lib.14.de Ciuit.Dei.cap. 13.

Plato.in Thim.

Strabo.in Geo. lib.1.

saying; That Kings for to hit the nayle on the head, and not to faile in the carriage of their businesses, must alwayes take counsaile of wise men, such as are of knowne vertue and experience; and not giue credit vnto any, that prate and talke with a great deale of libertie and licence of those things they vnderstand not, as if they were graduated in them from their Mothers wombe; And only for a more happy (in shew) then prudent wit: Least that happen vnto them, which befell king *Ahab*, who admitted to his Counsell a false Prophet, that made great ostentation of that spirit, which he had not. Hee put the gouernment into his hands, and all was gouerned by his Counsaile. And because he did not speake by the spirit of God, nor he himselfe well vnderstood what he sayd, businesses went a misse, the kingdome suffred, and it cost the king his life. * And therefore we are not more to desire any thing of God for the good gouernment, conseruation, and augmentation of Kings, and kingdomes, then that he will be pleased to furnish them, with good, wise, and prudent Counsailours such as are sound at the heart, cleane from corruption, and blameleese in their conuersation. For such as these, will serue them in stead of Eyes, and vnderstanding both, wherewith they may see, and vnderstand all that passeth in their kingdomes. O how without eyes, how blinde is that king, who hath imprudent, couetous, and ill inclined Ministers! And if he will conserue himselfe and his kingdome well, he ought not so much to flye from those Physitians, who either out of ignorance, or particular hatred, approue, and consent to his eating of such meates as are hurtfull and contrary to his health, as from ignorant Counsailours, who either out of Adulation or for their particular Interest, make all that lawfull, which his free and absolute will shall lead him vnto. For such Eare-wiggs as these, will quickly spoyle, the prosperitie of the kingdome, ouerthow the life of the king, and prouoke the patience of the Subiect.

* It passeth so sometimes that Kings put the gouernment into those mens handes which are lame, and neyther know nor can command. They require their voyce, who haue nothing but a voice: Empty barrells that sound loude, but haue no fulnesse, and craue aduice, of those that are least able to giue it them, And if they themselues pay not for their folly, yet at least the Kingdome suffers for it.

Chap. VII.

A Prosecution of the former discourse, shewing how Kings are to take Counsaile, and what signes they are to marke and obserue for their better knowledge.

IT is a Prouerbe much celebrated amongst the *Grecians*; That *Consilium est res sacra*; Counsaile, is a sacred thing. And as *Diuus Thomas* declares it; it is a Light wherewith the Holy Ghost illightneth the vnderstanding, to chose the best. Others say; That it is a science, which doth weigh and consider, How, and When, things are to be done, that they may succeed well. *Arist. Ethic. lib. 6.* *Aristotle* saith; That it is a well weighed, and considered reason, whether such a thing shall be done, or not done? And the Law *de la Partida*, That it is good *Aduice*, which a Man takes vpon things that are doubtfull, that they may succeede well. *Ley. 1. & 2. Tit. 21. part. 1.* And indeede Counsaile is in all things exceeding necessary. For without it, can we neither treate of peace, nor war. *Consiliis, tractanda sunt bella*: Euery purpose is established by Counsell, and with good aduise make war. It is the saying of the Holy Ghost; *Ibi salus, vbi multa consilia*: Much Counsell, bringeth much safety. *Prou. 20. 18.* Nor can there be any thing more preiudiciall, nor any meanes more effectuall to destroy kings and kingdomes, then to alter and peruert counsailes. And this the Prophet *Micah* teacheth vs in a vision which he had, in this forme: God represented himself, sitting on his Throne, and all the Hoast of heauen standing by him, on his right hand, and on his left, consulting with them, what course he should take to destroy *Ahab*. And euery one hauing deliuered his opinion, there came forth a malignant and lying spirit, *1. Kings. 22. 19.*

like

like another *Cayphas*, and gaue his verdit, saying; *I will goe forth, and I will be a lying spirit in the mouth of all his Prophets: I will instruct the Counsailours of King Ahab, and with a lye cloathed with the appearance and likenesse of truth, I will deceiue and destroy him.* This course was approued, and held to be the fittest & most effectuall for the kings vtter ruine and destruction. And albeit in this diuine Vision, and reuelation, manifested for the dis-deceiuing of Kings, and to put them out of their errour, there were many things worthy obseruation, and consideration, yet the principall note, (in my iudgement) is; That neither *Ahabs* want of vnderstanding, nor his being head-strong nor wilfull in his opinion, nor his being ouer-rash, and vnaduised in what he vndertooke, but his own sins, and the sins of his people, had put him in that estate and condition, that dismeriting Gods fauour, and the light of heauen, the diuel did deceiue him, guiding the tongues of his false Prophets, telling them falsehoods, for truthes; doubtfull things, for things certaine, and by perswading him, that that which was to be his destruction, should turne vnto his profit & honour. S. *Paul* tells vs, that Satan often times transformes himselfe into an Angell of Light, and represents lyes and falshoods vnto vs, in the shape & figure of truth. And the mischiefe of it, is; That the same which the diuell wrought vpon *Ahabs* Counsailours, feigned friends, and professed enemies, haue, and doe the like on some occasions; procuring by secret meanes, to introduce persons, who making profession to side and take part with the king, perswade him to do that, which is least fitting for them, and most vsefull for their own ends. This is one of the greatest darings, and insolencies, that may in matter of State be attempted. God free all good kings from such Counsailes, and Counsailours. When king *Dauid* saw how his sonne *Absolon* persecuted him, and thought to go away with the kingdome, he feared not any thing so much, as the plots and Counsaile of *Achitophel*, who was both a subtile Statist, and a valiant Souldier, and by whose aduise *Absolon*

2. Cor. 11. 15.

salon was wholly ruled and gouerned. For the repairing of which mischiefe, he got *Hushai* the *Archite*, who was no whit inferiour vnto him in valour, and prudence, in a dissembling and disguised manner, to offer his seruice vnto *Absalon*, and to worke himselfe in to be of his Councell of war, and State, that he might be the better able, to oppose the able and sound aduice of *Achitophel*; as he did euen then, when his Master had most need of his seruice: By which discreete carriage, *Dauid* was freed of his feare, and *Absalons* businesses went backward, till himselfe, and his whole Armie were vtterly ouerthrown. Which story ye may read more at large in the second of *Samuel*. Two things therefore are to be considered for to know which is the best and safest Counsaile: The one on the Kings part, who craues it; the other, on his part, that giues it. And on either part, that which most importeth, is pureneſse of intention, & a desire to incounter with Truth. Not like vnto those, who hearken vnto good and disappassionated Counsailes with passion, and onely desire to be aduised, that the Councell may conclude, what is meerely their Wil, & not otherwise. And in their sittings at the Counsaile-Table, which are ordained to this end, they doe not so much treate, whether that, they pretend, be iust, or no? but with what colour of Iustice, they may effect what they desire? The vnderstanding (saith *Salust*) which we will (and with better reason, or more properly) tearme the Will, ought to be free and dis-incumbranced of affection, or particular passions, as well in asking, as giuing Counsaile. And because if there be any of this reigning in the breſt, it cannot alwaies, nay scarce any long time be dissembled, but will like fire breake forth from vnder the ashes that couer it; fitting it is, That Kings should seldome assist personally in Counsaile; for their Voting in his presence, is done with awfulneſse, and great respect; but in his absence, they vtter their mindes with a little more freenes, and libertie of language. And euermore your first opinions of your Ministers, and Counsailours of State, before they be toucht with the

2. Sam. 15. 31.

the Ayre of the Kings will, are the beſt and the ſincereſt, as produced from that vnforſt motion and naturall inclination, which is in their owne particular hearts, and boſomes. If the King deſireth to haue this or that thing paſſe, and for to authorize and qualifie this his deſire, he craueth their Counſell, howbeit hee meete with many which conforme themſelues thereunto, & follow his guſt and liking, yet ſuch Counſaile or aduice in ſuch a Caſe, ought to be eſteemed as little ſecure, as there is great reaſon for it to hold it ſuſpected: Eſpecially, if the foreſaid Counſailours, by ſome meanes or other come to haue an inckling, that this way the King is inclined, and this is that, which will giue him content. And though we might as well out of Diuine, as Humane Letters cite heere many examples, for that this is a thing ſo vſuall, and ſo well receiued both by Princes, and by Priuy-Counſailours; Or to ſpeake more truly and plainely, by thoſe, that ſooth, and flatter them; I will onely alleadge that, which paſſed with that vnfortunate King *Ahab*; who out of his proud and haughty ſpirit, and the deſire that he had to make warre, and to take a place of importance from the King of *Syria*, propounded his intent, or to ſay better his Content, to thoſe of his counſell. The buſineſſe was no ſooner in treatie, and the propoſition for the vndertaking of this action propoſed vnto them, but forthwith 400. Counſailours with a ioynt conſent conformed themſelues to his opinion. And to ſooth vp this his humour the more, one amongſt the reſt bobb'd him in the mouth with an intollerable Lye, affirming; that God had reuealed vnto him, that he ſhould haue the glorie of the day, & that the ſucceſſe of the battaile ſhould be proſperous vnto him. This was apprehended with a great deale of content by the King, but was finiſhed with his vnfortunate end, himſelfe being ſlaine in that battaile, and his Army routed and ouerthrowne. By which we may ſee, how much it concerneth Kings, if they will receiue good Counſaile, that they diſſemble (as much as they can) their particular good will and

1. Kings. 21. 6.

liking in the buſineſſe propoſed. But that, which is heere of greater conſideration, is the vertue, fidelitie, and truth of a Counſailour, a minde without paſſion, diſintereſſed, and pure. For it oftentimes hapneth, that he that craueth Counſaile, hath not his intention ſo ſound as is requiſite, nor his iudgement ſo ſtrong, as to reduce him into the right way, and being ſet in it, to follow the beſt. But to grow to a Concluſion, that cannot faile, which Truth it ſelfe, our Sauiour Chriſt ſaid in his Goſpell; *A good tree, cannot bring forth bad fruit: nor a bad tree good.* And the badge or cogniſance of good or bad Counſaile, ſhall doubtleſſe be the goodneſſe, or badneſſe, the wiſedome, or ignorance of the Counſailour. And therefore I importunately preſſe, that it mainly importeth a Prince, to beware, of whom he taketh Counſaile. For by how much the more profitable is a wiſe & vpright Counſailour, by ſo much the more preiudiciall is he, that is vniuſt, and vnſtreight. And therefore the Holy Ghoſt ſaith; *Conſilum ſemper à ſapiente perquire: Aske Counſaile alwaies of the wiſe.* And in another place; *Pacifici ſint tibi multi, Conſiliarius ſit tibi vnus de mille. Amongſt a* 1000. *Men, ſcarce will there be found one, that is fit to giue Counſaile.* For ſome want wiſedome, & prudence; other ſome, pureneſſe, and cleanneſſe of heart; and a third ſort, are ſo ouerſwaied with paſſion, that they do not ſimply & ſincerely perſwade the truth. A cleare Example wherof we haue in King *Rehoboam*, the ſonne and ſucceſſour of King *Salomon*, who though he ſucceeded his father in ſo rich a Kingdome, and ſo inured to peace, and obedience to their King, yet notwithſtanding was in an inſtant vndone & vtterly loſt by bad both Counſaile, and Counſailours. For good Counſellours, are the life and ſoule of a Kingdome. And when it is not vnderpropped with ſuch, like a body without a ſoule, it preſently ſinkes & falls from it's ſtate wherin it ſtood. And therefore the holy King ſayd: *Oculi mei ad fideles terræ, vt ſedeant mecum. Ambulans in via immaculata, hic mihi miniſtrabit. Non habitabit in medio domus meæ, qui facit ſuperbiam: qui loquitur*

Tob. 4. 19.

Eccl. 6. 6.

Pſal. 101. 6.

loquitur iniqua, non direxit in conspectu oculorum meorum: Mine eyes shall be vpon the faithfull of the land that they may dwell with me. Hee that walketh in a perfect way, hee shall serue me. Hee that worketh deceit, shall not dwell in my house: hee that telleth lyes, shall not tarry in my sight. And in this particular, Kings ought to be very wary and circumspect. In the next Chapter we will treate of the Care which they are to take in chooſing their Counſellours of State; for the errour in this one, is the fountaine of all errours, and the totall Perdition of Kings and kingdomes.

CHAP. VIII.

Of the Diligences, which Kings are to vſe in the Election of their Miniſters, and Counſellours.

IT is a queſtion, that hath beene much ſifted and winowed amongſt your Morall Philoſophers, as alſo your Diuines; whether Election, be formally a worke of the Vnderſtanding, or the Will: *Gregory Nyſſenus* ſaith; That it is compoſed of both partes; To wit, of the Act of the Will, and of the Vnderſtanding. And hee ſaid well. For therein is required both a fullneſſe of Knowledge, and a freeneſſe of Will. And it is the Doctrine of *Diuus Thomas*, who ſaith; That it is not of the will alone, but alſo of the Vnderſtanding, becauſe the electiue Act of the Will, conference, conſultation, & Iudgement, is to precede; which is the proper Act of the Vnderſtanding. But the miſchiefe of it is; That in Elections, wee many times ſee the contrary, and what a ſtrange diuorcement and ſeperation there is heerein, from this true Philoſophie. For that, which now a dayes moſt of all diſcouers it ſelfe in theſe Elections, is our proper guſt, will, and affection. And therefore to remedy ſo great a malady, it ſhall be

requisite, that the Prince, who desireth to tread sure, to hit the marke he aymes at, and to please God in those whom he electeth and calleth to his Counsell: that hee follow the Example of our Sauiour Christ, written for our instruction by the Euangelists S. *Mathew*, and S. *Luke*, who recounting the Election of S. *Peter* and of S. *Andrew*, and other the Apostles, as his principall Ministers, there preceded a long and prolixe Oration, or prayer, full of feruour, of zeale, and of the Spirit, and retyred himselfe into the desart, and there fasted 40. dayes, *Et erat pernoctans in Oratione Dei.* And continued all night in prayer vnto God. Which (as S. *Ambrose*, and other fathers haue well obserued) Christ did not doe, that hee had any neede of these Dispositions, and Preambles, for to iumpe right in that Election; but to teach kings, and all other Princes, that if they will hit right in their Elections, they are to vse the like Diligences. They are by good and pious workes to procure this fauour at Gods hands, and to direct all their actions to this end. Nor would hee, that this Election should be left wholly to the declaration of those Saints, for our Sauiour did declare himselfe more particularly in the 10. of S. *Luke*; Where speaking with the 70 Disciples, which had nominated them, he sayd vnto them; *Messis quidem multa, operarij autem pauci; rogate ergo Dominum Messis, vt mittat operarios in messem suam: The Harueſt truly is great, but the Labourers are few; Pray yee therefore the Lord of the Harueſt, that hee would send forth Labourers into his Harueſt.* And though in those former times, these words were very seasonable, yet now in this present age, it's necessitie is better knowne, as likewise the truth thereof. For, the Harvests being so many, and so great, I meane, so great and so many the varietie, and multitude of important businesses for the welfare of the Common-wealth, the Labourers are very few. But to expresse my self a little more fully, I say, That very few are they, that enter, or seeke to enter into Offices, for to labour and take

Mat. 4.
Luk. 4. & 5.

Luk. 6, 12.

Luk. 10, 2.

paines, but for to liue at their pleasure, & to heape vp riches, that they may increase the more in ambition, and more freely take their ease. The remedie of this, consisteth in that, which our Sauiour Christ commandeth vs; To wit: That we indefatigably pray vnto him, that he will be pleased to send forth faithfull Ministers and good Labourers into his Common-wealth: Ministers, of knowen trust, zeale, & vertue, to whom may suite the name of Counsellours, and not of Babblers; of worthy men, & not of wordly men. And kings, to whom properly this Office of Election doth belong, must put the more force, & insist the more in this prayer begging that which the wisest of Kings, *Salomon* petitioned of God, *Da mihi sedium tuarum assistricem sapientiam, vt mecum sit, & mecum laboret, vt sciam quid sit acceptum coram te omni tempore: O God of my fathers, send me wisedome out of thy holy heauens, and from the Throne of thy Glory, that being present, shee may labour with me, that I may know what is pleasant vnto thee &c.* This wise and discreete king, was not contented with that guide and light which humane wisedome might afford him, but had recourse by prayer to that diuine Light and Wisedome, which is that that guideth Kings without stumbling, or feare of falling into errour. For as *Wisdome* saith of her selfe; *Per me reges regnant, &c.: By me Kings reigne, and Princes decree Iustice.* As if shee should haue sayd: By the hand and Light, which I reach forth vnto Kings, they goe rightly on in their iudgements, and their Elections, so that they reigne, and conserue themselues in quiet possession of their Kingdomes. The drift of my discourse is this; That when a King shall come to elect and make choise of his *Ministers*, his first care must be, to pray heartily vnto God, that hee will direct this his choise and election. And so much the more diligence hee ought to vse therein, by how much of more importance and of greater qualitie the Minister shall be, that is to be imployed. Wised. 9. 10. Prou. 8. 15.

After Prayer, which is diuine, other humane diligences,

are to bee followed. Whereof the chiefeſt is, that the Prince informe himſelfe of the good ſufficiency, the honeſt life, and faire carriage of thoſe, whom hee is to chooſe. And that heerein, he may not be deceiued, it is neceſſary, that with Chriſt he goe vp vnto the Mount; That is, To eleuate his Conſideration vnto God and to auoide vulgar opinions; To ſtrip himſelfe of paſſion, and not to ſtrike hands with thoſe, that are not Gods friends; To forget all kindred, and Alliance; Not to take in the infectious Ayre of fond affection; Not to apply himſelfe to that, which the importunate interceſſions and requeſts of a fauourite, or kinſman ſhall ſeeke to draw from him for their priuate benefit; Nor to hearken to the negotiation of cunning and ſubtile pretenders, but onely to the good of the Common-wealth, and the quicke diſpatch of buſineſſes, and other the like offices, that are to be exerciſed by men of their place. And albeit, it was my purpoſe, not to ſerue my ſelfe, in this diſcourſe, but with the Teſtimonies and Examples of holy Scripture, and the Doctors that are Expoſitors thereupon; Yet can I not omit to exemplifie heere in one, of King *Don Philip*, the ſecond of this name, whoſe ſoule doth reſt in peace, being that for his great prudence, and zeale to Iuſtice, and for his good gouernement, all the Kings of the world may acknowledge him their Maſter. The caſe is this; A Preſident of his time, hauing propoſed a Perſon for a place, relating vnto him the qualities, which concurred in him, for the meriting thereof, hee farther added; That the Lady *Infanta*, did much deſire this prouiſion ſhould bee made him. Heereunto his Maieſtie with a great deale of iudgement, and grauitie, made anſwer. *Y mi hija que ſabe deſſo?* What? Has my Daughter a hand in this? Can ſhe iudge of his worth. Giuing his Preſident by this his Anſwer to vnderſtand, that he ſhould not haue alleaged vnto him that, for to make a good election, which ſhould paſſe the bounds of the conſideration of thoſe parts and qualities,

wherewith

wherewith hee was to be furnished, were his pretension neuer so much fauoured by the mediation and intercession of great persons. And heereunto I farther adde, that a king should in no hand content himselfe with the bare knowledge of those onely, whom he knowes by sight, and walke dayly vp and downe in his Court, but that hee should take leysure to informe himselfe of as many as hee can, and to follow the ancient custome, in giuing order to his Generalls, Vice-kings, Prelates, and Gouernours of euery Prouince, to giue him information of the best and sufficientst subiects that are in their Gouernment, and that after due consultation had with them, they should nominate three or foure vnto him, that from amongst many good, hee might choose the best. And the rest to bee listed, and taken notice of, that vpon occasion they might receiue imployment. From whence likewise this good will arise, that All, in all partes, great, and small, will study the Science and Arte of good gouernment, fly Vice, and follow Vertue, that they may in their due time be numbered amongst the Chosen. Let a King goe, *Con su paſſos contados* (as they say) with a slow foote, in those Elections, which he is to make, giuing way vnto Time, and to information. Which hee ought willingly to heare, neither in all giuing credit to all; nor being (as many are) too incredulous. Let him remit things to Tryall and Examination, it being a thing needefull for him so to doe. For, if it be not wisedome, to lend a facile eare to all that we heare, for, the wise man saith: *Qui citò credit, leuis eſt corde*; So likewise doth it betoken little prudence, to liue alwaies suspicious and distrustfull. Something must be left to Experience. But to come to the qualifying of persons, if the one's qualities be of ten, the other of nine quilates, and all of them necessarie for the Office of a Counsellour, the first ought to be preferred, though the other out strip him in Estate, in fauour, in riches, and greatnesse. For, in that Ministry, there ought respect to be had

onely to the aduantages of ſufficiencie, and not of power. Nor ſeruices, albeit two be equall in ſufficiencie, muſt looſe their place, and right. But that hee, who hath done the greater ſeruices for his King and Countrie, ought to bee preferred before the other. Now there is this difference (amongſt many others) betwixt a good Prince, and him that is not ſo; that a good Prince, conferrs his Offices, according to the ſufficiencie and vertue of the Miniſter he maketh choiſe of; the other vpon fauour, and humane reſpects, vſing therein his power, but not attending diſtributiue Iuſtice, which rewardeth euery one according to his deſerts, without reſpect either vnto perſons, or particular intents.

Chap. IX.

Of the Qualities, which Kings are to conſider in thoſe, whom they are to make choiſe of for Miniſters and Counſellours.

WE may very well anſwer that which is heere queſtioned with that which is recounted in the 18. Chapter of *Exodus*, where it is ſaid; That *Iethro*, ſeeing his ſon in law, *Moſes* wearyed and tyred out in the gouernment of that great body of Gods people, and that it was more then one mans worke, to giue ſufficient diſpatch to ſo many buſineſſes, did aduiſe him, to chooſe but a certaine number of Miniſters and Counſellours, that might helpe to eaſe him of that burthen, which was too heauy for his ſhoulders, *Vltra vires tuas eſt negotium, ſolus illud non poteris ſuſtinere. This thing is too heauy for thee; Thou*

Exod. 18. & 18.

art

art not able to performe it thy selfe alone. Cadendo cades (saith another Letter) *By falling, thou shalt fall, and all this people, that is with thee. Daras de ojos* (as they say) *à cada passo.* Thou must looke well about thee. And ioyntly with this, hee propounded the qualities, which hee ought to consider in those, whom hee was to choose for that Ministrie. *Proinde ex omni plebe, viros sapientes & timentes deum, in quibus sit veritas.* Or as another letter hath it; *Viros veridicos, & qui oderint avaritiam: Thou shalt prouide out of all the people able men, such as feare God; men of truth, hating Couetousnesse, &c.* Now, let vs goe pondering euery word in particuler, and in them, the qualities of Ministers. The first is *Prouide;* Which signifieth not onely to prouide, but to fore-see, and consider. For, the election of a Minister is a businesse of great prouidence, and consideration, and the most important and necessarie for a King in matter of gouernment. On the good, or bad Election of Counsellours, dependeth the whole honour and profit both of King, and Kingdome. And he that erres in this, must necessarily erre in all. For the spring of a fountaine being spoyled, all the water is spoiled. And a King failing in this Principle, all goes to destruction. For without doubt, all good dispatch growes from the force and vertue of good Counsaile. Then therefore is a King held to be wise and prudent, when he hath wise and prudent Counsailours: Hee succeedeth well with all his Intentions, and inioyeth fame, credit, and reputation both with his subiects, and with strangers. Of the one he is beloued and obayed, and of the other dreaded and feared; and of all esteemed and commended: The whole kingdome resteth contented and satisfied. And though in something hee sometime erre, none will beleeue it. But when Priuie-Counsailours are no such manner of men, all murmur, and proclaime to the world; That there is not an able man in all the Counsell, and if in some one thing or other Exod. 18. 21.

other hee hap to haue good succeſſe, few or none will giue credit thereunto, but rather conceiue, it was done by Chance.

The ſacred Text ſays farther; *De omni plebe*: Out of all the People. As if he ſhould haue ſaid out of all the 12. Tribes, or families of this people; thereby to giue vs to vnderſtand; That for to make a good Election, it is requiſit, that there ſhould not remaine a nooke, or corner in all his kingdomes, where diligence ſhould not be vſed (as before hath beene ſayd) to ſearch out the fitteſt Miniſters. And likewiſe it may in this word, be giuen vs to vnderſtand, that in matter of Election, wee are not to haue reſpect to Linage, Kindred, or Parentage, but to vertue, ſufficiencie, and courage, accompained with other good qualities, which adapt a man to be a Counſellour. And therefore it is ſaid anon after, *Viros ſapientes*, Wiſemen; men of vnderſtanding heads, and ſtout hearts, which dare boldly and plainely to ſpeake the truth, and to maintaine and put it in execution, when they ſee fit time: for your puſillanimous and white-liuerd perſons are not fit Miniſters for a State. *Noli quærere fieri iudex, niſi valeas virtute irrumpere iniquitates.* He that hath not a face, to out-face a Lye, and to defend the truth, let him neuer take vpon him the Office of a Miniſter of Iuſtice. In the booke of *Daniel* it is ſtoryed, that King *Nabucodonozor* was reſolued to haue done ſome cruell chaſtiſement vpon his Princes, and Counſellours, for that hauing asked them the Interpretation of a troubleſome dreame hee had, none of them could declare the meaning of it. And howbeit they told him, that they could not tell what to make of it, & plainly confeſſed the truth, yet notwithſtanding the King conceiued, that hee had good reaſon to except againſt them. For (thought hee) if you know it, and for feare will not tell it me, yee are Cowards; And if you know it not, yee are ignorant; and either of theſe is a great fault in Counſailours, & afford ſufficient cauſe, why ye ſhould be puniſhed; in that yee would offer to take that Office vpon yee; which

first

first of all hath neede of stoutnesse of courage; and secondly, to be learned and expert in so many and various things; as a King hath occasion to vse yee in. And therefore that wise *Iethro*, after the word *Viros*, Men, puts, *sapientes*, Wise Or as the 70. and others translate it, *potentes fortes*. Because in Ministers and Counsellours of State, strength, courage, constancie, and wisedome, should walke hand in hand. The Courts and Pallaces of Kings and Princes, that which they are least stored with all, is Truth. They scarce know her face, nay not so much as of what colour or complexion shee is, the onley Minions there made of, being flatteries, and lyes. A wise and stout man, is daunted with nothing, is neuer troubled, nor altered, he stands vpon his own worth and sinceritie, & is Lord and Master of his reason, he speakes with libertie and freedome, hee represents the truth to his King, and maintaines it, *Pie quedo* (as they say) stiffely and stoutly, without respect to any thing, no not so much as his owne proper life, hee ouerthrowes plots, discouers the impostures, deceits and Lyes of flatterers; for the which he had neede of courage and wisedome.

Now let vs see, what that wisedome is, which a King is to require in his Ministers. Not worldly wisedome, wherof S. *Bernard* saith, That those which inioy it, boasting themselues thereof, very wisely goe to Hell. The question, that I aske is; Whether, they should be Philosophers, Diuines, or Lawyers, or in what kinde of faculties, they should be wise? Heereunto first I answer; that questionlesse, it would be a great helpe to the making of a good Counsellour to bee seene in these Sciences, and to haue spent some time of study in them. But in case they haue no skill in these, it shall suffice, that they are wise in that which belongeth vnto that Ministry, for which they are nominated and called; to wit: To be a Counsailour, which is a person, that is fit, sufficient, and able, for that charge which he is to administer. That hee haue a nimble wit, and quicke apprehension, for without

without that, the reſt ſerues to little purpoſe. Whereas he that is furniſhed therewith, with a little helpe, attaineth to much; He knowes things paſt, vnderſtands the preſent, and giues his iudgement of things to come. That hee be well read in ancient and moderne Hiſtories, wherein are contained the ſentences and opinions of wiſe men of elder times, by which they ordred their Common-wealths, and maintained them in Peace. For this kinde of reading, doth indoctrinate more in a day, then Experience hath taught others in many yeares, which muſt by no meanes be wanting in a Counſellour for that ordinarily in them, are found Prudence, Authoritie, and Experience: That he haue happy memorie, which is the *Archiue* of the Sciences and Treaſure of Truths; for without it, to reade and ſtudie, is (as they ſay) *Coger aqua en vn harnero*, to gather water in a ſiue; and it importeth much, in regard of the diuerſitie of buſineſſes, and perſons, with whom hee is to treate. That hee haue trauailed, and ſeene forraine Countries. That hee be skill'd in the Languages, and haue in all of them the Arte and garbe of ſpeaking and diſcourſing well. That he more eſteeme the ſeruice of his King, and the publicke good, then his own priuate gaine. That hee be courteous, humble, affable, and yet of a good ſpirit. That hee lend an attentiue eare, and that hee keepe that gate open for great and ſmall, rich, and poore. But aboue all theſe, he muſt be of approued vertue, for without it, all the reſt are of no eſteeme. Hee that ſhall haue more, or leſſe of theſe qualities, which are for all in Common, ſhall bee the more, or leſſe ſufficient Counſellour. As for Vice-royes, Gouernours, Ambaſſadors and other great Gouernments of the Kingdome, ſuch are to be choſen, who together with the foreſaid qualities haue ſtudied, and ſpent ſome yeares in the Schoole of experience, and hauing beene conuerſant at the Kings elbow, aud in his Courte, and Counſailes, not only for the greatneſſe of thoſe mindes, and ſtomacks which are

bred

bred there, (a necessary qualitie for to occupie great places, and not to bee bred vp with a poore portion of Treating, and Vnderstanding, which begets mindes according to the same measure) but likewise, because there by their Treating with Kings, Princes, and other great persons assisting them in their Counsells and graue consultations, communicating with great Ministers, and Counsellours of State, diuerse cases and businesses, the Practick of all affaires, is thereby the more, and better apprehended; As your practitioners in Physicke by conferring with great Physitians. He therefore, that shall haue both Learning, and Experience, shall amongst all men be the most remarkable. But, *Quis est hic, & laudabimus eum*: Shew mee this Man, and we will commend him. For Mans life is short, the Arte long, and experience hard to be atchieued. But to summe vp this discourse, and giue an ende thereunto, I say: That he that is to bee made a Counsellour of Warre, should therein haue beene exercised many yeares. And that he, that is of the Councell of State, should haue a full knowledge of all, and should be very dextrous in matters of gouernment, both publike, and particular, and well verst in military discipline, because hee is to consult both of warre, and peace. Which because they are things so opposite, and contrary, a man cannot iudge well in the one vnlesse he know and vnderstand aright the other. As wee shall shew hereafter when we shall more in particular treate of this Counsell.

Other qualities, are competible more in especiall to Iudges Iustices, and Presidents, to whom that particularly appertaineth, which is deliuered in that word, *Sapientes*; That they well vnderstand the facultie of the Lawes, and that corresponding with their name, they be *Iuris-prudentes*, well seene in all matters, carrying an euen hand towards all, and administring Iustice without partialitie. *Vt iudicent populum justo iudicio, nec in alteram partem declinent, nec accipiant personam, nec munera*: That they may iudge Deut. 16. 18. 19.

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the people with iuſt iudgement that they wreſt not iudgement, nor reſpect, neither take a gift. For this briberie and Corruption, is that duſt, which blindes the Iudges, and that plague, which conſumes a Common-wealth. Moreouer, they muſt bee wiſe men, cleane and ſound at heart, and of much truth. All of them qualities, which all Nations required in their Miniſters, expreſſing them in their *Herogliffes*. Of the Ægyptians *Diodorus Siculus* reporteth, That they had their Councell and Audience in a great Hall, where there ſate thirty Counſellors or Iudges. *Et in medio iudicandi Princeps, cuius a collo ſuſpenſa veritas penderet, & oculis eſſet ſub clauſis, librorum numero circumſtante*: And in the midſt of them ſate the Preſident with his eyes ſhut, a number of bookes ſtanding round about him, and Truth hanging about his necke, curiouſly cut (as *Ælian* expreſſeth it) in a *Pectorall Saphire*, like vnto that which God faſhioned for the adorning of his Miniſter and Preſident *Aaron*, wherein were ingrauen theſe words, *Hurim, & Thummim*. Which ſome interprete to be *Iudicium, & Veritas*: Iudgement, and Truth. But S. *Ierome*, would haue it to ſignifie *Doctrinam, & Veritatem*, Learning, and Truth. For theſe three things, Iudgement, Learning, and Truth, are much about one, and in them conſiſteth the whole perfection of a Miniſter; *In quibus ſit Veritas*. For in the breſt of a good Iudge, there muſt neither raigne paſſion, nor affection, but the pure Truth, which hee cannot poſſibly avoyd, vnleſſe hee will wrong nature it ſelfe. For our ſoule is naturally inclined to Truth. And it is ſo proper to a wiſe and prudent Man, that hee that doth not ſay it, vnſaies himſelfe. And certaine it is, that the gouernment of a Kingdome, is ſo much the more good or ill, by how much the truth therein, hath more, or leſſe place. For if buſineſſes be not ſeaſoned therewith, as meates are with ſalt, neither the poore ſhall be defended from the oppreſſion of the rich, nor the rich poſſeſſe their goods in ſafety; men and

Diodor. Sic. lib. 2. rerum antiq cap. 1.

Ælian de Var. Hiſt. lib. 14.

Exod. 28. 30.

womens

womens honors ſhall runne danger, and no one perſon can promiſe to himſelfe ſecuritie. And therefore it is ſo much the more needfull, that a iudge ſhould treate Truth, and deſire that all ſhould doe the like; by how much the more are they that abhorre it, and ſeeke to conceale it; an olde diſeaſe, which was almoſt borne with vs into the world. And if Iudges ſhall not fauour Truth, and plaine dealing; treachery, and Lying will reigne and beare rule. Let Kings take heede how they chooſe men that are feare-full and timerous to be their Miniſters, who out of cowardize and puſillanimitie, hide the Truth, and dare not bring her forth to Light. For, as ſhee is the foundation of Iuſtice, and Chriſtian iudgement, if a Iudge ſhall not loue it with his heart, tracke the ſteps of it, and draw it out of that darke dungeon wherein ſhee lyes, Iuſtice will be in danger of being cruſh't, and falſhood will preuaile. As in that peruerſe Iudgement in Chriſtes cauſe, where the Iudge was ſo farre from being deſirous to know the truth, that hee did not know what kinde of thing it was; And therefore demanded in the face of the open Court; *Quid eſt Veritas*? What is Truth? To whom, that diuine wiſedome made no anſwer, perceiuing him to be ſuch a foole, as to be ignorant of the firſt vndoubted Principle of Iuſtice; and ſuffring himſelfe to be carryed away with falſe accuſations, and feigned relations, which had no bulke nor body in them, no ſubſtance in the world, nor any ſhew, ſaue of a poore ſhadow, to be thus miſ-led.

Librorum numero circumſtante. The Preſident before ſpecified, had a great many of bookes about him; To ſhew how much it importeth, that Iudges, and Preſidents bee Learned, and well read in the bookes of their facultie. *Epiphanius* ſaith; That hee ſaw a Statua of Truth, which in it's forehead had two letters, the firſt, and the laſt, of the Greeke *Alphabet*; in it's mouth other two; and other two in it's breſt; and ſo through all the parts of it's body to it's very

very feete. So that this was all enamelled with Letters, as the other was rounded with bookes. Thereby, giuing vs to vnderstand that that Man, which is truly the man he ought to be, and is to aduise and gouerne others, his head, hands, and feete, must be stucke full of Letters. He must be learned from the sole of the foote, to the Crowne of the head, full of Letters hee must bee; for in the discourses of the Vnderstanding, in the working of the hands, and in the moouing of the feete, wee may easily guesse, whether a man be wise, or no; Whether he hath studied, or doth studie; For though a man be neuer so wise, neuer so learned, hee still forgetteth somewhat. So that, it is not enough for him to haue studyed, but it is requisit, that he still continue his study, that hee may repayre with that which he learneth, the losse of that which hee forgetteth. As in a naturall body, that, by dayly eating and drinking is restored, which is by our naturall heate consumed.

Et oculis esset subclausis. His eyes (which are the windowes by which Passion enters vnto the soule) were shut. Because hee should not be led away with the respect to those about him. For, hee must not haue an eye and respect to the Estate and condition of persons, to doe more fauour (when it comes to point of Iustice) to one, then another. And for this reason, the sayd Ægyptians, did ordinarily paint Iustice, without a Head. The Head, is the common seate of all the Sences; signifying thereby, that by no one sence, a Iudge should open a doore to Passion, but that he should place them all in heauen without respect to any thing vpon earth. And this, is not to respect persons, but Iustice.

Plutarke in his Moralls, reporteth of the *Thebans*, That in their Courts of Iustice, they had the Pictures drawne of certaine reuerend olde men, sitting in their due order, and in the midst the President; all of them without hands, and their eyes fixed on heauen. To intimate that they

Plat. lib. 1. Stobæus Serm. 46.

they ſhould alwaies ſtand in the preſence of the Lord, from whence is to come that Light, which is to cleare the eyes of their intentions, avoyding to caſt them downe towards the ground, that the Vapour of humane reſpects which is rayſed from thence, may not cloude and darken the ſight of their vnderſtanding. They muſt be olde, and wiſe, becauſe they are to iudge with mature Counſaile, which accompanyeth that age. And as it is ordred by their Lawes, they muſt haue neither eyes, to ſee, nor hands, to receiue bribes. And if they would cut off their wiues hands too, the cauſe would be the better iuſtified. For in them, your bribes finde an open gate, and are ſo eaſie to be knowne in this kind of trading, that there are few or none, but take notice of it. They haue the ſlight of hand, and (like Gypſies) haue a fine facilitie in deceiuing, and not hard to be wrought vpon to gaine by this vngodly courſe. And looke what buſineſſe they labour to effect, they are vſually the leaſt iuſtifiable; And if they are diſpoſed to fauour this man, or that cauſe, and will but ſet their friends, and wits roundly to worke, and doe their beſt, they will ſhrewdly put a Iudge to his ſhifts, and driue him to that ſtreight, that Iuſtice ſhall hardly eſcape a fall. I would haue iudges therefore with their hands off, and their eyes out, leaſt that befall them, which did a couple of their place, and qualitie, who came to ſee the Proceſſe of a famous, but falſe, and looſe woman, who perceiuing that the reaſons of the Relator did worke little vpon them, appealed, *para vuſta de ojos*, that ſhee might appeare face to face, and in her information, when ſhee came *Ore tenus*, ſhee cunningly diſcouered her beautie, by a careleſſe letting fall of her mantle, and ſo bewitched them therewith, that allowing for good thoſe powerfull witneſſes of her eyes, and face, they releaſed her, and gaue her for free. But to ſay the truth, it was her looſeneſſe that freed her, and their lightneſſe, that condemned them; making that fault light, which before weighed heauie. And

how shal he freely administer Iustice, who hath his heart captiuated, and in the power of him, and her, that can turne and winde him, which way they list and wrest him from goodnesse? More Iudges haue bin vndone by Lightnesse, then by Cruelty. The one begetteth feare the other contempt. And by the way, let them take this lesson a long with them, that not onely in reality of truth they conserue their credit without spot, but likewise in apparance procure to giue such good Examples that the world may not iustly charge them, no not with so much as a discomposed looke, neither in the open streete, nor Court of Iustice; for euery bend from their brow, or euery smile from their countenance, is the Common peoples *Almanack*, wher-by they make coniecture, whether it is like to be faire, or fowle weather; reading in the face fauour to one, and rigour to another. Wherefore, as their place is great, so is their perill; The way is slippery wherein they tread, and therfore had need looke well to their feete. Woe be vnto that Iudge, which seeth, and seeth not; sees the best, and followes the worst; suffering his reason to be subdued by passion, and himselfe by one poore slender haire of a handsome woman, to be led by the nose whether shee will leade him. For a good face, is a tacite kinde of recommendation, a faire superscription, and a silent deceit, which troubles the clearenesse of the minde, making white appeare to be blacke, and what is iust, to be vniust: which was the cause, why God commanded the Iudges of Israel, that they should remoue their eies from the persons of those that were brought before them, and place them wholly on the matter which they were to iudge. And for the same reason, did the Iudges of *Areopagus*, heare all sortes of causes, were they ciuill, or criminall in the darke, by putting out the Candles. And your *Athenians* did sentence their sutes behind certaine Curtaines, which might hinder their sight. The *Lacedemonians*, they were a little stricter laced; for they did not onely deny eyes to those that went to Law, and sued in their courtes, but also debard them

Exod. 23.8. Leuit. 19.15.

them of eares; and becauſe they would prohibit them the power of informing the iuſtneſſe of their cauſe, but that they ſhould make their Plea by writing, *Ne, ſi coram iudicibus loquerentur, facilius eos fletibus, aut actionibus efficaci modo dicendi demulcerent*: Leaſt if themſelues ſhould be permitted to ſpeake before the Iudges, they might the more eaſily ſoften and mollifie their hearts, by their teares action, and words. And it ſeemeth that God doth approue for the better this manner of iudging, when he ſaith, *Non ſecundum viſionem oculorum iudicabit, nec ſecundum auditum aurium arguet: He ſhall not iudge after the ſight of his eyes, neither reproue after the hearing of his eare. Sed iudicabit in iuſtitia pauperes, & arguet in æquitate pro manſuetis terræ*: But with righteouſneſſe ſhall hee iudge the poore, and reproue with equitie, for the meeke of the earth. With iuſtice and truth hee muſt reproue and confound thoſe, who with fictions, with colours, and ſtudied artifices, pretend to make that iuſt, or probable, which hath no ſhew of iuſtice, or truth. For there are ſome Lawyers, ſo full of Quirkes, and ſubtilties, that they wreſt the true ſence and meaning of the Lawes, ſtriuing to bring them to their bent, haling them (as they ſay) by the haire to that part whereunto themſelues are willing to incline; either to that, which a fauourite, or powerfull perſon pretendeth, or to him, that will bribe moſt; whereby ſuites in Law, are made euerlaſting, much mony is conſumed, mens States miſerably waſted, or at leaſt the true knowledge of the cauſe obſcured, as well *de facto*, *as de jure*; both in matter of fact, and of Law. A Iudge therefore ought to be very attentiue to all buſineſſes, that are brought before him, and to haue *Lynx* his eyes to watch whether the *Torrent* will tend of a *Pleader* tranſported with affection, and of a cauillous Relator, armed with a 100. Witty quillets, ſubtill and acute Allegations, wherewith they ſhadow the light, and ſcatter cloudes Iſay. 11, 3.

of darkeneſſe ouer the cauſe that is pleaded. Hee that is ſet ouer others, muſt haue wiſedome and courage, to make reſiſtance againſt them, and to diſarme them, rebutting the blow by his Arguments, and with the true and ſolide
Eccl. 7. ſence of the Lawes themſelues. And therefore *Eccleſiaſticus*, would not haue that man to take vpon him to be a Iudge, that hath not ſpirit and mettall in him, to conteſt with the ſtouteſt of them, and to doe Iuſtice *Secundum allegata & probata*, according to all right, and law. For many times there is more cunning and wiſedome required for to vndoe thoſe knots, and to facilitate thoſe difficulties, which theſe wrangling Lawyers put in their Plea, then to reſolue the doubt in the Caſe it ſelfe. And if hee be to deale with perſons of power, and great Courtiers, he muſt either breake through this net which they pitch for him with force, or with ſome ſlight or other ſeeke to auoyd it, rather then that fauour, and power, on the one ſide, or ſubtill ſhiftes, and Law quirkes, on the other ſhould ſtifle
Iſay. 58. 6. Iuſtice. For, in theſe caſes it is written. *Diſſolue colligationes impietatis: Looſe the bands of wickedneſſe, to vndoe the heauie burthens, and to let the oppreſſed goe free.* For the ſonne of God himſelfe (to be an example vnto Iudges) did proceede in this manner with the Diuell. For this pur-
Iohn. 3. 8. poſe (ſaith S. *Iohn*) *was the Sonne of God manifeſted, that he might deſtroy the workes of the Diuell.* Whereby he ſhewed no leſſe courage, then gained reputation. And it is one of the moſt preiudiciall things that can befall Commonwealths, to ſeeke to honour ſuch perſons in whom doe not concure thoſe qualities, nor the knowledge of ſuch Miniſters, and giuing them the Title of Counſellours, which haue neither that ſufficiency of knowledge, nor wiſedome, which is neceſſary for to giue a good and ſound opinion in graue and weighty matters. And as it were a fooliſh and vnaduiſed thing in him, that hath neede of a payre of ſhoes to go to looke them at a Barbers, and not at a ſhomakers ſhop,

ſhop: ſo is the caſe alike, when wee leaue wiſe and experienced men in a Common-wealth lurking in a corner, and put thoſe into eminent places, which neither know how to begin, nor end buſineſſes, nor what courſe in the world they are to take. That which is fitteſt for them, but much more for a King and kingdome, is, to let them alone in their ignorance. *Quia tu ſcientiam repuliſti, repellam & ego te,* (ſaith God.) *Becauſe thou haſt reiected knowledge, I will alſo reiect thee.* For one fooliſh Miniſter alone is an intolerable burthen for a Kingdome. *Arenam & ſalem, & maſſam ferri, facilius eſt ferre, quam hominem imprudentem, & fatuum:* Sand, and ſalt, and a maſſe of yron, is eaſier to be borne, then a man without vnderſtanding. Three things (ſaith hee) which are the heauieſt to beare, are more eaſie to bee borne, and with more patience to be indured, then the imprudencies of an vnwiſe and fooliſh Miniſter. Hoſe. 4. 6. Eccl. 22. 15.

Chap. X.

Hee continues the Diſcourſe of the qualities of Miniſters, and Counſellours.

THe laſt words of *Ieihros* Aduice were, *Et qui oderint Auaritiam:* hating Couetouſneſſe. A qualitie no leſſe neceſſary, then thoſe before ſpecified. The 70. Interpreters tranſlate it. *Et qui odio habent ſuperbiam:* Hating pride. There are ſome men, which rake vp a great deale of wealth, and are couetous only to keepe, and make the heape the bigger, liuing for this cauſe miſerably vnto themſelues, and deepely indebted to their backe and belly. Others there are, that ſcrape and

ſcratch, by hooke, or by crooke, all the money they can finger that they may afterwards prodigally ſpend it, and maintaine their vaine pride, and oſtentation. But in what ſort ſo euer men be couetous, ſure I am; That Couetouſneſſe is one of the worſt notes, and baſeſt markes, wherewith Kings Miniſters, and Counſailours of State, can be branded.

Eccl. 10, 9. *Auaro, nihil eſt Sceleſtius* (ſaith *Eccleſiaſticus*) There is not a more wicked thing then a couetous man. And from thoſe that are toucht with this infection, Kings are to flye as from a plague or Peſtilence, and be very circumſpect and wary, that they be not admitted to the Councell Table; and to remoue thoſe from thence, that haue receiued any bribe. For it is an incurable diſeaſe, a contagious corruption, which like a Leproſie goes from one to another, and clingeth cloſe to the ſoule. Beſides to receiue, is a ſweete thing, and leaues the hand ſo ſauory, and ſo well ſeaſoned, that it hath no ſooner receiued one gift, but it is preſently ready for another, a third, a fourth, and ſo in *infinitum*. And the end of that which is paſt, is but a diſpoſition for that which is to come. Like a hungry Curre, who hath no ſooner chopt vp one morſel, but he is ready for another. And he perhaps, who at firſt was contented with a little, & could ſay: *Eſto baſta, y ſobra*. This is inough, and too much, afterwards much, too much, and more then too much will not ſatisfie his hungry mawe; *Infinita enim eſt et inſatiabilis cupiditatis natura*: Infinite (ſaith *Ariſtotle*) and inſatiable is the gut of couetouſneſſe. And the Holy Ghoſt tells vs; *Auarus non implebitur pecunia*. He that loueth ſiluer, ſhall not be ſatisfied with ſiluer; nor he that loueth aboundance, with increaſe. For it is a kind of ſalte and brackiſh water wherewith couetous mans thirſt cannot be quenched, for when he hath taken this, and that other, and a world of things, he gapes ſtill for more. He is better ſatisfied by denying him that which hee deſireth, then by giuing him that, which he craueth. And therefore publicke Miniſters (if wee will

Ariſt. 2. Pol. cap. 5.
Eccl. 5. 10.

credit

credit Diuinitie) ſhould be ſo noble and ſo free, that they ſhould not onely not be couetous, but quite oppoſite thereunto, and to hold a particular hatred, and perpetuall enmitie with couetouſneſſe. That they ſhould not onely not receiue giftes and preſents, but that they ſhould hate, and abhorre them and cauſe thoſe to be informed againſt, that either ſhall giue a bribe or pretend to giue. For moſt true is that ſaying of the ſonne of *Sirach*. *Munera & dona excæcant oculos Iudicum. Preſents and gifts, blind the eyes of wiſe.* How ſone is a couetous man blinded, when he beholdes the baite of his Paſſion? Nor is there any thing more often repeated in ſacred and prophane writ, then the putting vs in minde of force, and efficacie which gifts haue to wreſt Iuſtice, and peruert iudgement. *Moſes* ſaith of them, That they blinde the eyes of the wiſe; and that they turne and winde the words of good men, chopping and changing one for another, to ſerue their purpoſe. *Qui quærit Locupletari, peruertit oculum ſuum.* The gift blindeth the wiſe, and peruerteth the words of the righteous. By which is vnderſtood the Intention, which is eaſily wreſted, when intereſt puts to a helping hand, which is that Loade-ſtone, which drawes the yron after it, and cauſeth them to erre that ſuffer themſelues to be carryed away therewith. If a Iudge be couetouſly giuen, he will ſoone varie his opinion, and make no ſcruple to condemne the poore, who hath nothing to giue him, and abſolue the rich, who giues him all that hee hath. For mony is an able *Aduocate*, and pleads hard. And Iuſtice (ſayth *Iſidore*) is ſtrangled with gold. The times are ill, when that which cannot be obtained by Iuſtice, muſt be procured by Money. Fiue hundred yeares and more was *Greece* gouerned by *Lycurgus* his Lawes, to the great happineſſe of the Naturalls of that Countrie and admiration of ſtrangers, without the breach of any one Law; by meanes whereof, that Commonwealth was ſuſtained with admirable peace, and Iuſtice,

Eccl. 20.29.

Exod. 23.8.

becauſe priuate intereſt had no power with the Iudges of the Land. But when money came to beare ſway, and that men tooke pleaſure therein, and made it their happineſſe, the Common-wealth was made vnhappy, and the Lawes, and Iuſtice, were trodden vnder foote. He (ſaith the wiſe man) that is greedy of gaine, troubleth his own houſe. *Qui autem odit munera, viuet:* Prou. 15. 27. *But hee that hateth gifts, ſhall liue.* And I doe not ſee, how hee can liue, who receiuing ſo much, ſo often, and of ſo many, ſees himſelfe ſo laden, and ſo inuironed and beſet with obligations, which are ſo oppoſite and contrary one to another. I ſay (contrary) becauſe the Pretenders are ſo amongſt themſelues, who aſpiring to one and the ſame thing, wherein it is impoſſible hee ſhould content all of them, euery one offereth according to his Talent, and the deſire hee hath to obtaine his ſuite. And many times, though they giue neuer ſo much, they remaine fruſtrated of their pretenſion, and become enemies to that Miniſter, murmuring and complayning of him, (and that with a great deale of reaſon) all the dayes of their life. Woe vnto the Couetous man, who (as the Scripture ſayth) ſets his ſoule to ſale. Eccl. 10. 10. *Animam quaque venalem habet.* It is a moſt wretched caſe, and a moſt lamentable miſerie, that a mans auarice and couetouſneſſe ſhould be ſo great, that hee ſhould ſell his ſoule for the greedineſſe of money. Beſides, there is another great Contradiction, from which it is not poſſible for to free themſelues. For, if they will faithfully performe their Office, they cannot fauour any, ſaue him that hath moſt right and iuſtice on his ſide. And this they muſt do *gratis*, and without any other kind of intereſt, then that, which the being of a good and faithfull Miniſter carryes with it. Againe, if they do not ayde and helpe him, who by giftes hath bound them vnto him, they fowly and ſhamefully deceiue both him, and themſelues; and muſt needes fall into one of theſe two inconueniences; Either to be ingratefull, if they doe not doe for

for him that gaue; or vniuſt, If they doe contrarie vnto Iuſtice. So that which way ſoeuer they receiue a gift, they goe away with it with an euill Conſcience, and in plaine Engliſh, are theeues by qualification. So that great Lawyer, *Paris de Puteo* calls them, and ſayth; That there are more in your publicke Audiences, and open Courts, then in your Townes, and villages. *Paris de Put. de Sindic. c. 2. num. 3.*

And that iuſt man *Iob* affirmeth; That the Tribunalls of robbers proſper. One calls them Vſurers, another, Pyrates. And *Lucas de Pena*, ſaith, That they are farre worſe, becauſe they rob and ſteale vnder collour of Law, and publicke authoritie. In a word, God, who knowes them better then all the world beſides, calls them diſloyal companions of theeues, which deſire giftes, and loue Retributions. And from heauen hee throwes downe his Curſe vpon them, whereunto on earth all the people ſay, Amen. *Iob. 12. 6. Luc. de Pena in l. Iudices. Cod. de Dignitat. lib. 12. Iſay. 1. 23. Deut. 27. 25.*

But let them bee called by what name or Title you will, let them neuer ſomuch haue the name of Iudges, their workes will ſpeake what they are. If they doe Iuſtice, and iudge according to their iuſt Lawes, then are they Iudges, and deſerue ſo to be. But if they do the contrary, they beare the name of Theeues, and are vnworthy that Office. There being repreſented vnto *Dauid* the rigourous chaſtiſement of theſe kinde of men, hee beggeth thus of God. *Gather not my ſoule with ſinners, nor my life with bloody men; In whoſe hands is miſcheife, and their right hand is full of bribes.* Let theſe theeuiſh hands (ſaith the Emperour *Conſtantine*) ceaſe at laſt to ſteale; let them ceaſe I ſay; And if they will not ceaſe, and giue ouer ſtealing, let them be cut off, and ſet vpon the gallowes top. Neither let Kings ceaſe, to make diligent ſearch after them, and to execute iuſtice againſt them in the moſt rigorous manner. And if they will not amend, let them (a Gods name) be ſoundly puniſhed. For it is a foule and abominable Vice, pernicious, and peſtilent, and which doth much marre and deface the Luſter of whatſoeuer *Pſal 26. 9.*

ſoeuer Miniſter, be he neuer ſo illuſtrious and great. And therefore in the Ciuill Law, it hath the name of *Sordes* giuen it; which ſignifies foulenesſe, or beaſtlineſſe. The Emperour *Alexander Seuerus*, (a great ſubduer of this vice) when he ſaw any Miniſter noted thereof, his choller roſe, and his ſtomacke began to turne, and did prouoke him to vomit, as if hee had ſeene ſome loathſome ſtinking thing. And for ſuch kinde of corrupt men he would vſually ſay, hee had euer a fingar in readines, to plucke out their eyes. And for the better informing himſelfe of the truth of theſe buſineſſes, hee made choice of ſome vertuous and intelligent perſons, whom hee ſent ſecretly as Spyes into ſeuerall parts of the Kingdome (which all wiſe Kings ought to doe) giuing them good Intertainment for the defraying of their charges, to the end, that they might truly informe him of all whatſoeuer paſſed, as how his Miniſters behaued themſelues in their gouernment, how in their Offices? Saying; That if they did abuſe them, it was not enough to remoue them onely, and put other in their places; but for example ſake, ſeuerely likewiſe to puniſh them. He gaue all his Officers good honeſt maintenance, and ſufficient allowance, and would by no meanes permit, that any Magiſtracie, or publicke Office, ſhould bee bought and ſolde. For he, that buyes of me (ſayd hee) muſt of neceſſitie ſell to another, for to quit his Coſt, as alſo to make his beſt profit and benefit thereof. Such as theſe, buy cheape in the groſſe, and ſell deare by retaile. And ſo it is, that hee that buyes a tree for money, can hardly afford the fruite for nothing.

L. ff ad l. Iul. rep. l. 3. ff. de recep &c.

Iul. fin. C. ad Legem Iul. rep. l. 10. &. 22. Tit. 5. lib. 3.

The Emperour *Theodoſius* made heereupon a Law worthy ſo noble a Prince, and deſeruing heere to bee ſet downe, as a Patterne for Kings. Wee will (ſayth hee) and ordaine, that thoſe be appointed Gouernours of our Prouinces, who ſhall bee found worthy thoſe places, charging and commanding, that they be not conferred either for ambition, or bribes, or promiſes, or for any price, that ſhall be giuen for

for them, but meerely for that they are men of an honorable and vertuous disposition, and of a good and approued life. And these, whom you (my President) shall choose, or we our selues vpon your report, wee will, that they who are admitted to these Offices, shall solemnely sweare, and firmely promise, that for the said preferments, or places of charge and gouernment, they haue neuer giuen, nor promised any thing for them, neither shall giue hereafter either openly, or vnder hand, either directly, or indirectly. Neither shall they take, or receiue any thing, but shall rest contented with their Salaries, and Pensions, Nor shall pocket any bribe in publike, or priuate, not onely during their Office, but neither before nor after, &c. These are the very words of the Law it selfe.

Diuerse other ancient, and Moderne Lawes, and decrees haue beene made, generally prohibiting all kind of gifts and bribes, vpon paine of diuers very greiuous punishments, to be inflicted vpon those, that either take, or giue bribes. As paying double what was promised, or giuen; depriuation of Office; The treble value of what was giuen; Then (vpon the increasing of the abuse) a quadruple value. And after that, Confiscation of goods, banishment, and open infamie. *Iustinian*, added hereunto the punishment of Whipping. And the Emperour *Valens*, and *Valentinianus*, farther increased the same, commanding, they should be burned. And the now Emperours of *Iapan*, did lately execute the sayd Law vpon one of his Fauourites Secretaries for taking of a bribe; and him that bribed him, (who was Gouerner of a Kingdome) he caused to be beheaded. *Plato*, would make it a rul'd case: That that Iudge should dye the death, that should take a bribe, yet notwithstanding neither the feare of death, of iudgement, nor of hell it selfe, is sufficient to represse the loue of money. *Disputante Paulo de judicio futuro, tremefactus est Felix: Paul* reasoning of the iudgement to come, *Felix* trembled, who was President

Plat. lib. 2 de Legibus.

Act. 24. 25. 1.

ſident or Ruler of *Ceſarea*. And yet the feare of that terrible day of iudgement, was not able to bridle his Couetouſneſſe. He trembled for feare, and yet his eyes, and heart, were placed vpon that money which hee hoped to receiue from that bleſſed Apoſtle. Feare is not of force, to detaine the Couetous; For Couetouſneſſe, is a huge great riuer which if it once begin to make it's Current, bee it which way it will, there is no withholding of it. If you ſtop it's courſe one way, it breakes out another way. So it did with that naughty Prophet, who haſted with great furie to curſe Gods people, that he might finger his promiſed gold. And though an Angell ſtood before him, and ſtopp't his way, hee tooke another way, and brake through thicke and thin (as they ſay) that hee might not looſe his reward; ſo farre (ſaith *Ioſephus*) did the promiſes and gifts of the *Moabites* preuaile with him, that hee choſe rather for his priuate intereſt, to pleaſe a King of the earth, then him of Heauen. The Kings of Spaine haue likewiſe made ſome Lawes with very ſharpe and rigorous puniſhments, but all not worth a pinne, becauſe they are not executed. So that this bad cuſtome alone, is of more force, then all the lawes. Theſe are written with inke, on paper; Thoſe, with letters of gold on the heart. The Lawes threaten with roughneſſe and rigour; Money perſwades with ſoftneſſe and gentleneſſe, and carryes mens mindes after it without contradiction. The Lawes, haue few to defend them, & to put them in execution. But this euill cuſtome, is of more force then the Law, & hath ſtronger Abettors. In a word, terrible are the forces and skirmiſhes of this foule aſſaulting vice, become now as it were naturall vnto vs, and more vſed in theſe, then any other Times whatſoeuer. *Demoſthenes* ask't the *Athenians* (& thoſe which are, may aske of thoſe that haue bin) what were in thoſe times which are not in theſe? And himſelfe makes the anſwer, That one thing was now wanting vnto them; whereby thoſe that liu'd then, alwayes went away with the victory, & maintained

Num. 21. 12.

Ioſeph. de Antiq. lib. 4. cap. 5.

ned their libertie. Which was; The perpetuall hatred which they bore vnto thoſe, who ſuffered themſelues to be corrupted with mony. In ſtead whereof, it is now come to that paſſe, that to receiue a bribe, is onely a nine dayes wonder; if the ſame be confeſt, it is made a matter of laughter; if proued, he that receiues, receiues a pardon for it; and he that informes, ſent away with a flea in his eare, and in ſtead of a reward, receiues a round checke for his labour, & growes a hated man, and troubleſome member in a Common-wealth. But vnfortunate is that Common-wealth, where Corruption liues vncontrolled. And becauſe this Vice goes daily taking deepe roote, and grows ſtill ſtronger and ſtronger, inuenting new impudencies, new ſlightes and ſubtilties, it is needefull that Kings ſhould hunt Counter, and finde out ſome new Tricke, to take theſe olde ones in the Trap. And this one (me thinks) would be a pretty remedy for this diſeaſe; That a Law were made, That of all thoſe, that ſhould be nominated for Miniſters and Officers publike and particular in any Tribunall, or Miniſtry what ſoeuer as well of Iuſtice, and gouernment, as of the publike Treaſurie, there ſhould an Inuentorie be taken (by ſome deputed for that purpoſe) of all their rents, and goods moueable, and vnmoueable, and when they are to take their oath (as the faſhion is) at their entrance into their Office, the ſaid Inuentory ſhould be preſented in open Court, and there they made to ſweare, and take a ſolemne oath that this is a true Inuentorie, and that their Eſtate is thus and thus, neither more nor leſſe, or much there abouts, to the end that when their ſtates come to be increaſed, and their wealth makes a great noyſe in the world, it may (vpon better inquirie) be knowen how, and which way, they came by it. For experience daily teacheth vs, that your Iudges, your Exchequer men, and other publike Officers, enter into the Office with little, and goe out with much. And I would, that the Kings Atturney generall, or one of like nature, ſhould

Bald. in l. 1. c. de hæred: vel Actione vendit.

Dise que el fisco tiene Accion contra los toles bienes,

Bel delito ded coecho qualquiera puede ser acusado durante el Officio y despues. 2. ff. de Calumniatore.

should enter an Action against all those Augmentations of their Estates whereof they should not be able to render a good Account. I could likewise wish, that they might be sworne to that Law of *Theodosius*; That they neither gaue, nor promised, by themselues, or by any other person, or persons, any thing at all, for the foresaid Offices: Neither that they shall receiue any thing of free gift, be it offred with neuer so good a will. Which oath, the Ancient *Romans* swore vnto. And if at any time it shall be proued against them, that they haue either giuen, or taken, that they incurre the punishment of priuation of Office, and Confiscation of goods. And this Course being taken, these cannot offend againe; and if their dealing hath beene vpright and faire (as good men will not refuse a iust tryall, but rather (out of loue to goodnesse) imbrace it,) God forbid but they should bee well rewarded by the State, for their good and faithfull seruice. And this is no new doctrine, but shall finde it (if we looke backe to former times) practised long a goe. And the Emperour *Antoninus Pius*, did likewise ordaine, that all Liuetenants, and Gouerners before they went to serue in their Residencies and Offices, they should bring in an Inuentorie of all they had, that when the time of their Gouernment was expired, by coating and comparing the one with the other, they might see how and in what manner they thriued thereupon. *Audistis* (saith he) *Prætorij nostri antè Triduum quàm fieret, mendicum, & pauperem: sed subitò diuitem factum. Vndè* (*quæso*) *nisi de visceribus Reip. qui ob hanc causam Prouincias sibi datas credunt, vt luxurientur & diuites fiant? &c.* You haue heard that our *Prætorian Præfect*, some few dayes since was a very beggar, but now sodainely become rich. Whence (I pray) should this come but from out the bowells of the Common-wealth; who for this cause thinke Prouinces are committed vnto them, that they may therein riot, and grow rich? Setting at nought the Lawes, the

the respect vnto their Kings, their feare towards God, and the shame of the world. Truly (saith *Plato*) that publike Minister may be had in suspicion, who in his office is growne rich. For he that only gets by lawfull meanes can hardly liue at so high a rate, as some of his fellowes doe, build such sumptuous and costly houses, and leaue so faire and great an estate behind him to his Heyre. And he, who heerein does more then he can, will likewise do more then he ought. For he, that will seeke to out-doe his meanes, will not sticke to out-doe his honestie. In a word, gifts haue euermore bred a lealousie of Corruption; and in Iudges, esteemed the fouleſt fault. Oh, of how little worth is a little gift; and yet what a great hurt, to a Ministers honour? A gift (saith *Nazianzene*) is a secret Tyrant, which doth subdue, and tread all vnder foote. And to giue, is of all other the greateſt Tyranny, and the greateſt violence. It is *Senecas* Counsell; That, he, that will inioy his owne freedome, must not receiue anothers benefit. For to giue, is to in-slaue; And the receiuer, is the giuers slaue. Gifts, are but Gyues and chaines wrought of strong linkes: The ending of one, being the beginning of another. And where the first ends, the second begins. And this (as they say) *dispone la trabaion para otros muchos*; serues but as a Timber peece to couple and fasten many others. Take heede therefore (saith the Emperour *Iustinian* of receiuing giftes, which quit our libertie, blinde our vnderstanding, incline our wills, and defame our honour. But make thou much of cleane hands; for he that shall keepe his hands cleane, and shall not suffer himselfe to be corrupted by priuate Intereſt, shall haue much honour and fame in this life, and a great place prouided for him in that other. *Qui excutit manus suas ab omni munere, iste in excelsis habitabit & Regem in decore suo videbunt oculi eius: hee that shaketh his hands from holding of bribes, hee shall dwell on high; And his eyes shall see the*

Nazian. in Orat. 23.

Seneca. de Benefi.

In Auth. Vt Iudices sine quoq; § 2.

Isay. 33. 15.

the King in his beauty. All this, and more ſhall they attaine to, that are truly of pure heart, and cleane hands.

All this (ſay they) that you ſay, is true. We confeſſe as much. But withall we muſt tell you, That that which we receiue is *ſubſidium gratuitum*, a free gift, a meere gratuitie, with a great deale of loue, and good liking of the Giuer. And we affirme, That all (for the moſt part) that is giuen, is reſpectiue, and is in that Predicament, which the *Logicians* tearme, *Ad aliquid*. Whereby he that receiueth a courteſie, is bound to returne a courteſie. And thoſe which giue, hope to receiue from ſuch Miniſters, that which they cannot iuſtly giue them. With theſe conditions, a gift is lawfull, and eſteemed to be lawfully receiued, when it comes free, vnclogg'd, diſintereſſed without pretenſion, and without reſpect of requitall, or reference to any recompence or retribution. That is a gift, which goes diſ-roabed of all reſpects which is neither a friend nor kindſman, nor kindſwoman of the party that giues it, and hath no obligation, no Intereſt, no neceſſitie, but is all pure loue, and is freely giuen of grace, onely to do him good, that receiues it, The reſt is Vſurie, Loane, bribery, and hope of gaine. And if they will ſee that this is true, let them come downe from that high place wherein they are, let a Viſitation goe forth againſt them, and they ſhall quickly ſee, how euery man longs and deſires, that that may bee returned to the Owners, which they haue got by foule play. It is a great blindeneſſe in Miniſters, to imagine, that what is giuen them, proceedes from liberalitie, and out of the good will and loue they beare vnto them. God he knowes, it is no ſuch matter, but what they do in this kinde, is only to corrupt them, and to oblige them to do that, which they neither may, nor ought. Let them beleeue me, and not deceiue themſelues. For to giue, and receiue, is a cunning peece of buſineſſe, a thing of great artifice, wit, and ſubtiltie, and on whatſoeuer occaſion it worketh

worketh, it workes Miracles. But in case gifts should not corrupt, at least they appease, and moue affection. Being (as that wise King *Salomon* saith) like vnto the waues of the Sea, which make the tallest ship to reele, be she neuer so well ballasted. And waues neuer come single. And if they be strong waues indeede, they ouerturne her, and sinke her in the Sea. *Repromissio nequissima multos perdidit, & Commouit illos, quasi fluctus maris.* Let them looke well to themselues, that receiue gifts, for they run a great deale of hazard; let them take heede, least some storme arise that may drowne their ship, euen then (as often hath beene seene) when she is deepest and richest laden. And let them not trust to their taking in secret, nor of such, and such a person; for the Diuine Sunne of Iustice, whom they offend, will discouer and bring all to light. And though no body should see or know it, it is enough that God, and his own Conscience knowes it, which are two sure Witnesses, besides many other, which time will produce. Eccl. 20.

They likewise alleage, That they haue leaue and licence of their Kings to receiue gifts. Whereunto, first of all I answer; that it is not to be beleeued, that Christian Kings will grant such Licences as these, which are so preiudicall, pernicious, scandalous, and so contrary to the Common good, and good gouernment of their Kingdomes. Secondly I say; (speaking with that reuerence and respect, which is due vnto the authoritie of Kings) that it cannot be grounded on good Diuinitie, that they may giue any such leaue or licence vnto their Ministers. Againe, they vrge, that sometimes, in some particular case, gifts haue beene giuen to some great *Priuado*, or fauourite of the King. It may be so; But sure I am, that to no Counsellour of Iustice, can it euer iustly be, or may be done. But because this will fall within the compasse of our insuing discourse; I will cite those words; *Timentes*

Deum. Fearing God: Which follow anon after the beginning. For well will it suite, that with these, we conclude this Chapter because the feare of God is the beginning of wisedome. And from whence, as from their fountaine, are deriued all those other good qualities; that are in man. *Timor Domini super omnia se superposuit.* *There is none aboue him that feareth the Lord.* *Et beatus homo, cui donatum est, habere illum:* *And happy is that man, to whom it is given.* For he, that hath the feare of God hath all the good that can be desired. *Plenitudo sapientiæ est, timere Deum:* *To feare the Lord is fullnesse of wisedome.* He that would be a generall Scholler in all kinde of knowledge, be well seene in all the Artes and Sciences, and haue all those good parts and qualities, combined and ioyned together, let him loue and feare God. For he that feares him, and hath him alwayes before his eyes, hath libertie and power to ouercome the feare and dread of the mightie, whereof the World doth stand (and all for want of this feare) too much in awe. Among the Lawes of *Moses*, *Iosephus* relateth one, wherein he willeth Iudges that they should aboue all things preferre Iustice; and that without respect to any mans person, or dignitie, they should equally iudge all; For they hauing (as they haue) heere vpon earth, the power of God, they ought not to feare any other but him. He that preuaricates Iustice in relation to great persons, makes them greater and more powerfull then God; who giues vs this short but stoute Lesson; *Feare not him, that can kill the body, and take away thy life, but feare thou him, that can kill the soule, and depriue thee of life euerlasting.* And in another place, he saith, *Thou shalt not forsake the poore, for feare of the rich, nor iudge vniustly, nor doe the thing that is vnequall, for feare of the powerfull, but keepe iustice in it's true weight and measure; without any humane respect, or vaine feare.* King *Iehosaphat* aduiseth the Iudges of *Israel*, that in

Eccl. 25. 10.

Eccl. 1. 16.

Exod.

in their iudgements, they feare none but God alone, and all the Law-giuers, as *Lycurgus Solon, Numa*, and a number of others, together with the chiefeſt of all, *Moſes*, who gouerned Common-wealths, and made Lawes, founded them with Religion, and the feare of God. Theſe are the firſt and laſt Letters of the Lawes of Chriſtian gouernment, wherewith that wiſe King did ſumme vp the booke of thoſe, which hee made for the gouernment of Men. *Deum time, & mandata eius obſerua: hoc eſt omnis homo. Feare God, and keepe his Commandements: for this is the whole dutie of man.* With this he receiueth the ſtabilitie and permanencie of man. The contrary whereof, is to be a beaſt and worſe then a beaſt; According to that of S. *Bernard*; *Ergo ſi hoc eſt omnis homo, abſq; hoc nihil eſt homo:* If this be the whole duty of man, without this man is nothing. But as a man, that hath no vſe of reaſon, breakes all lawes, *Facile deuiat à juſtitia, qui in cauſis non Deum, ſed homines formidat:* He eaſily ſwarues from Iuſtice, which in cauſes, feareth not God, but Man. I will heere conclude with that which *Eſay* ſaith; *A wonderfull Counſellour is the mighty God. And he is to be our chiefe Counſellour and more inward with vs then any King or Counſellour.* And Kings and Counſellours are to craue his Councell. For Councell being his gift, he doth not communicate the ſame to any, ſaue ſuch as loue, and feare him, and take Councell of his diuine Law. As did that holy King. *Conſilium meum Iuſtificationes tuæ.* Let euery one enter into his Councell of knowledge, let him conſult himſelfe the beſt that he can; yet when he hath done all that he can, let him aduiſe with the Law of God; For if he do not know well how to aduiſe himſelfe, how ſhall he giue Counſaile to others? And he that knowes not how to rule & gouern himſelfe, how ſhall he command a whole kingdome? *Qui ſibi nequam eſt, cui alij bonus erit? He that is euill to himſelfe, to whom will hee be good?* *Alexander* ſaid He hated that wiſe man, that was not wiſe for himſelfe.

Eccl. 12. 13.

Ber. ſer. 29. in Cant.

Iſay. 9. 6.

Eccl. 14. 5.

Chap. XI.

Of other Courses and meanes, which Kings may take for the notice of such persons, in whom the said Qualities concurre.

One of the greatest mischiefes incident vnto Kingdomes is; That Kings haue not true notice giuen them of worthy persons, for to imploy them in his seruice. A great cause whereof is, that your vndeseruing, or (at least) lesse sufficient, are clapt in betwixt them, and home; Those are the men, that are most intermitted, take most vpon them, and procure by their Negociating and Plotting, to occupie the best places, and not contenting themselues therewith, seeke to shut the doore against men of merit, and to keepe them out, to the end that their owne defects, by this course, may receiue the lesse discouery. For this is the nature of things opposite each to other, that the neerer they are one to the other, the more excellent lays it's Contraryes defect, the more open. Now to occurre to this mischiefe, wise *Iethro* aduised his sonne in Law, that he should seeke out men of good parts, and choose them (as we sayd before) from amongst all the people. And we shall better perceiue, what that Counsaile comprehendeth, if we will but consider that other place of *Deuteronomy*; Where *Moses* discoursing with the people, what diligence he had vsed on his part, it is there mentioned, that he spake vnto them, and admonished them (to the end that the Election of the Ministers might take the better) that they themselues likewise would vse their diligences, and then giue him notice of those persons, which they

Contraria juxta sepositа, magis aluceſcunt.

they held in greateſt eſteeme amongſt them, and were (in the generall opinion) the ableſt men. *Date ex vobis viros ſapientes, & gnaros, & quorum Conuerſatio ſit probata in Tribubus veſtris, vt ponam eos vobis Principes: Take yee wiſe men and vnderſtanding, and knowen amongſt your Tribes, and I will make them Rulers ouer you.* Deut. 1. 13. And indeed, the beſt and ſureſt courſe, that Kings can take, to come to that notice or knowledge they deſire, is to lay holde on thoſe perſons, whoſe approbation is ſo notorious, that all the people giue good Teſtimonie of them. For, (as a wiſe man hath well obſerued) the generall opinion, is that Touch-ſtone, which proueth or reproueth. For, it cannot be, that One ſhould deceiue All. And happily from hence grew that Common Adage *Vox populi, vox Dei:* The Peoples voyce, is Gods voyce. We muſt giue Credit to the fame and report that goes of Men. For (as *Tacitus* ſaith) ſhe ſometimes makes the choyſe of Miniſters; it being his meaning, that this ſatisfaction ſhould be giuen to the people, that thoſe, that are to gouerne them, ſhould be choſen and elected by that common fame, and good report, that goes of them. And heere by the way let me tell you, that it is not much amiſſe, that ſome Offices, and Preferments be in a diſſembled kinde of diſguiſe, purpoſely publiſhed before they be beſtowed, to ſee how it will be intertained and receiued by the people; to whom it is fit ſome ſatisfaction ſhould be giuen, as being the body that is to be commanded. This is a Trick of State, whereof (vpon ſome occaſions) *Fernando*, ſurnamed the Wiſe, made good Vſe. For when he was to goe any great Voiage, vndertake any Warre, or attempt ſome new Enterpriſe, or any other action of importance, he would not publiſh, nor iuſtifie the ſame to the world, till he had vſed ſome art and cunning, imploying ſome perſons fit for that purpoſe (before his deſignes were throughly vnderſtood) to giue it out; That the King ſhould do well to make ſuch, or ſuch a warre, to make this or

that prouiſion, for this, or that reaſon. So that firſt of all, the vulgar were made acquainted therewith and reſted ſatisfied with the reaſons that were rendred for it. And then afterwards it comming to be publiſhed, that the King had done, or would doe ſuch a thing, it is incredible to beleeue, with how much ioy, loue, and applauſe of the people, and whole Kingdome, this his Reſolution was receiued. But miſtake me not I pray; I do not ſay, that this is to be done alwayes, but on ſome occaſions, or great preparations. And Kings in this caſe, muſt haue a care, that they haue faithfull Centinells, that may truly certifie them, how that Newes takes, and what exception (if any ariſe) they make againſt it, and vpon what grounds, that if any thing had beene omitted, it might be amended. A Preſident (not vnlike to this) had the *Roman* Common-wealth in thoſe it's firſt flouriſhing dayes. Which did cauſe their Lawes to be ſet vp in publike for 27. dayes together before they ſhould be of force, to the end, that the people might peruſe them, and thinke well vpon them. How much more ought this Courſe to be taken in *Legibus viuentibus*: in thoſe liuing Lawes which are your greater and principaller ſort of Miniſters, and ſuch as are to command and gouerne a Common-wealth who ought to be well beloued, and well receiued of the people, that they may loue them, reſpect them, and beleeue them, in all they ſhall ſay, as they would their own fathers?

I well perceiue, that there may be much deceit in the world, and that there are ſome men ſo ſubtile and ſo cunning that only with a pen in their hand, they make themſelues Maſters of other mens ſtudies, and labours, and by this tricke gaine the credit and opinion of able and ſufficient men, when as indeed they are nothing leſſe. And this deceit takes more in matter of learning and wiſedome, which (as we ſaid before) cannot be meaſured out with the yard. And in no place is this ſo common, as in the Courts of Kings, where your purpurated perſons (ſaith *Seneca*)

Seneca) meaning thoſe, that abound in riches, and other corporall ornaments, ſtand a looſe of from the Vulgar and yet vſe to be vulgar in their vnderſtanding, to the preiudice of the good and true eſteeme of things; and amongſt theſe kinde of men, thoſe eaſily get the name and fame of wiſe, who talke boldly, and ſpinne out a large diſcourſe of thoſe things, which they well vnderſtand not. And it is daily ſeene, that ſome of theſe ſuperficiall fellowes haue beene preferr'd to better places by theſe their falſe oſtentations, and feigned knowledge, then great Learned Clarkes, by ſhewing themſelues humble-minded, temperate in their talke, and moderate in their conuerſation, could euer attaine vnto. And if this did happen only in thoſe Sciences and faculties, which they call *depone lucrando*, which are ſtudied for to get temporall riches, it were tolerable, becauſe for this end, opinion is of more profit for them, then Truth. But the griefe of it is, that this paſſeth forward euen vnto thoſe, that are profeſſours of that Science, which, as it is in it ſelfe ſuperiour, ſo ought it to make thoſe, which profeſſe the ſame ſuperiour in minde and vnderſtanding, and make them much more to eſteeme the truth, and exiſtency of wiſedome and knowledge, then falſe opinion, falſly gained amongſt the leſſe wiſer ſort of men. Now, for the auoyding of theſe inconueniences, it importeth much, that a King do not rely too much vpon the opinions of the Vulgar, which in particular are various, and ill grounded, but when they ſhall heare it generally ſpoken, that ſuch a one is an eminent man in this, or that other thing, and that he hath not his fellow in the kingdome for theſe and theſe abilities, let the Counſell be called, the Partie thus recommended, examined, and let the King take information from them, that are euery way as able as he, euen in that wherein he profeſſes himſelfe his crafts-maſter, whether they giue vp the ſame verdit of him, or no; So that the fame, and opinion of a

good Souldiers, of a good Captaine, and of a good Gouernour, muſt be confirmed by the Teſtimonie of thoſe that are the beſt both Souldiers, Captaines, and Gouernours. By this line, may you leuell, & by this courſe ſecure the approbation of all other Offices. And in thoſe whoſe ſufficiencie may be ſeene, and meaſured out by the ſuruay of Officialls, there cannot be ſo much deceit therein; but in thoſe, who are to ſerue a King and State, with great ſtudies, and with the knowledge of diuers faculties, as are your greater dignities, and Eccleſiaſticall functions, where (as we are taught by the Apoſtle S. *Paul*) there is neceſſarily required great learning, great integritie of life, and great prudence; and therefore had more neede of examination and triall. And I hold it for a great inconuenience, that the iudgement of things of ſo high a nature ſhould be remitted to the relation of thoſe, who are not onely farre from being able to iudge, but ſcarce know how to ſpeake truly of them. By meanes whereof it is very vſuall with them, to ſuffer themſelues to be ouercome by deceit, and ouerſwaied with paſſion, holding thoſe for the beſt and worthieſt, and recommending them to the King for thoſe high Miniſteries and Offices, to whom, either they, or their friends, and kinſe-folke, beare moſt affection, or are moſt beholding. But opinion ought not to carry theſe things, vnleſſe it be confirmed with very good, and ſure Teſtimonies.

Much of this miſchiefe will be remedied, if for theſe and ſuch like great Dignities and Offices, we ſhould not rely only vpon Fame, or that voice and report, which comes a far off, and ſomtimes painted ouer with apparencies, and in the maske and diſguiſe of truth, being nothing elſe, ſaue meere paſſion, but that we ſhould looke a little neerer into the inſide of theſe perſons, and grow by communication into a fuller knowledge of them. Not that knowledge, which ſome Miniſters ſpeake of, who are ſayd to know only thoſe whom they preferre, or are willing to preferre, and only for

for that they haue heard them talke in ordinary matters of complement, and baſe flatteries, which they vſe more, which haue all their wiſedome in their lips, then thoſe that are truly graue and learned men. Mens witts, are not like the water of a fountaine, which, at the firſt draught, our palate findes to be thicke, or thin, ſalt, or ſweete. It is like a Sea, without a bottome; or like vnto a deepe riuer, to know whoſe depth, we muſt wade through it from ſide to ſide. *Sicut aqua profunda, Sic conſilium in corde viri,* (ſaith the holy Ghoſt) *Counſaile in the heart of a man, is like a deepe water: Sed homo ſapiens exhauriet illud:* But a man of vnderſtanding will draw it out. And it is the learned, and wiſe, that muſt make iudgement of wiſe, and learned men. In the ſacred hiſtory of *Geneſis*, we reade, that when the holy Patriarke *Iſaac* determined to giue the benediction of the primogeniture ſhip to his elder ſonne *Eſau*, *Iacob* came athwart him, and feigned himſelfe to be *Eſau*, (whom his aged father meant to bleſſe) and in a diſtinct and cleare voyce ſayd vnto him; I am thy firſt begotten ſonne *Eſau*; To whom the Patriarke made anſwer; *Thy voyce ſeemeth not to be the voyce of* Eſau, *but of Iacob.* And therefore, *Accede huc, vt tangam te fili mi: Come neere I pray thee that I may feele thee (my ſonne) whether thou be my very ſonne* Eſau, *or not?* Many there are, who boaſt themſelues to be elder brothers in vertue, and learning, and with tricks and deuices, clad themſelues (to ſhew) in ſheepes cloathing, but inwardly are rauening Wolues, and with gifts and preſents, (as *Iacob* heere did) incline, or peruert the mindes of Miniſters, that they giue them credit, and beleiſe, ſtealing by this meanes the bleſſing away, and getting prioritie of place, being indeed younger brothers in their deſerts. And we are to conſider that in this Hiſtory, there did concurre two things, which were ſufficient to deceiue the Patriarke. The firſt, that he was blinde or at leaſt very dimme-ſighted; For (as wee ſaid before) when this propounding

Prou. 20. 5.

Gen. 27. 21.

propounding or nominating of ſuch perſons, is left to the will of thoſe, that are blinde, or ignorant in theſe matters, there is not any thing done therein, which is not full of deceit. The ſecond, That the voyce was far different, from the perſon whom he felt. The like vſually happeneth in that matter which we haue now in hand. For there ſhall goe a voyce, and fame, and a true opinion of ſuch a man, that he hath very worthy parts, but comming vpon the firſt ſight to thoſe Miniſters, which are to preferre him, he ſeemeth to be another manner of man, from that which hee truly is. And the reaſon of it is, for that (like the blinde) they only feele, touch, and examine theſe wiſe men, when as indeede they ſhould conforme themſelues to the ſettled voyce, and receiued opinion of the learned, who are better ſeene in theſe matters, and haue a deeper knowledge of them. Anciently, the people did meete all together, and with a generall and common voyce did nominate him to be their Biſhop whom they thought to be the fitteſt man, and moſt worthy the Epiſcopall Sea. And this was then held the faireſt and ſureſt Courſe. For (to ſpeake morally) it is not likely (as we ſaid before) that one ſingle man, ſhould deceiue ſo many, nor draw the votes and ſuffrages of all the whole multitude vnto him, vnleſſe he had parts and abilities deſeruing this their approbation. Many moſt holy men, and great Prelates, as *Ambroſes*, *Gregories*, *Chryſoſtomes*, and other learned, and graue Diuines, haue receiued their preferments by ſuch Nominations as theſe. But this kinde of Election (now ſome yeares ſince) was reduced (eſteeming it the fitteſt and the ſureſt way) to the voyces, and ſuffrages of your Deanes and Chapters of Cathedrall Churches. But, becauſe in humane things there is ſuch little ſtabilitie and firmeneſſe, your popular diſſenſions inforced them (for the greater eaſe and quiet of the Common-wealth) that your Kings (by conceſſion of the chiefe Biſhops) ſhould haue the nominating of them.

And

And no doubt, but it was well ordained by them, in regard, that as those their Royall persons, are of so superiour a degree, and so free from respects of humane businesses (for these are wont to worke vpon the mindes of particular men) so the nomination, that passeth through their hands, is by much the more certaine. For, as they are Kings and Rulers ouer the people, God doth inlighten them (so as they do not dis-deserue this light, or be rebellious vnto him, for the making of a good and iudicious choise.) *Diuinatio in labijs regis, in iudicio non errabit os ejus: A diuine sentence is in the lips of the King, and his mouth shall not erre in iudgement.* Prou. 16. 10. For, if he be a good and vertuous King, God doth assuredly assist his Actions, directing him by an especiall grace, and particular fauour, that he may not erre in a businesse of so great importance. And this doth oblige them to looke well what they do, and to take a great deale of care and good heed in the nomination of them. And let Kings take this into their consideration, that being such, as they ought to be, they haue in some measure a kinde of propheticall gift, that they may not (will they but strip themselues of passion, and craue Gods holy assistance) erre in their iudgement. Oh, what a necessitie is there in them to liue well, since that from the innocencie of their life, ariseth ordinarily a hitting right in their Actions, true Intelligence, and a good dispatch in their Negociations.

CHAP. XII.

Chap. XII.

How Kings ought to carry themselues towards those Ministers, whom they finde sufficient for the gouernment both of peace, and of warre.

IN the Creation of the vaste Vniuerse, God shewed his great Omnipotencie, and his infinite wisedome in the disposition of those things, which hee placed therein, with such a concordance and harmonie, that *Diuus Thomas* confesseth that it could not be mended, without some dissonancie, and iarring. And he citeth the example of a well tuned Viall, wherein it is not possible to straine a string, but the consonancie in all the rest is quite marred. This was that which the Wiseman said; That with weight, number, and measure, God had created, and ordered all his Creatures. So that the parts of the Vniuerse, haue amongst themselues that proportion, that in euery one, and all ioyntly, there are found these three Circumstances, weight, number and measure. But that, which is spoken in the booke of *Wisedome*, touching the gouernment of all this huge *Machina*, is of greater consideration. For God touching (as being infinitely powerfull) the extremes and ends of all things in the disposing of them, he doth it with a great deale of sweetnesse. He did set an inuiolable Law, a settled and determinate Seate (as being the Author of Nature) to nature it selfe; to the end, that euery thing conseruing it selfe with in it's owne proper bounds and limits, it should not be confounded with the rest. And from hence grew a most sweete and pleasing harmonie of all this great frame of

of the World, so well tuned, and so well ordred, that it alone voyceth and Proclaymeth the wisedome, and omnipotencie of the Creator. What a goodly thing is it, to see the continuall Motion of the Celestiall bodies? The perpetuall influence, fixednesse, & resplendour of the Planets and of other starres? The fire, in it's sphere? The Ayre, the Water, and the Earth, in their most firme and stable Mansions? And only by vertue of that first Law which God settled in his first Creation? Out of this Composture, and admirable accord, and agreement of things naturall, is to be drawne the politicall consent and attonement of a Common-wealth, appointing to euery one his site, his place, and his certaine limits of Iurisdiction for that Office, that shall be put vpon him, without once thinking to haue it altered or changed. And it is the obseruation of the wise, and men of much experience, that if it might bee inuiolably kept, and might bee established as an inuariable and vnchangeable decree in the brest of the King and his Counsellours, that those of one Counsell should not be transferred and put ouer to another, nor be remoued from that wherein they are already placed, vnlesse it be to your Presidentships of your Chanceries, and Visits of the Kingdome, and that they themselues of euery particular Councell should haue the nominating of their Presidents, it would in matter of gouernment be of great importance. First of all, by these meanes would cease those anxieties, vexations, and cares, wherewith all of them liue, of being translated from one Councell to another; as also that extraordinary negociating and labouring for this end and purpose. Those that are of the Councell of *Hazienda*, pretend to be preferred to that of the *Indies*, *& de los Ordines*. And when they haue attained to these, they aspire to that of *Castile*. So that out of this ambitious humour, none of them sticke fast, or keepe firme footing; but from the very first day, wherein they enter into one of these Councells, their

their mindes are wandring, pretending to better themselues by chopping and changing from Councell to Councell. And the mischiefe of it is; That in these Pretensions, they waste and spend that time, which they should bestow in studying those points, which belong to their own Tribunall. For the curing of this sore, in the Councell of the *Indies*, in former times, those Counsellours had a larger allowance and greater Pension, then any of the other Councells, obliging them thereby to settle themselues where they were placed, without pretending to budge, or to leape from one Councell into another, making themselues thereby capable of all those difficult businesses of the *Indies*, which good effect then ceased, when the Salaries were made all a like. And if this Order which I speake of, had beene well and truly kept, the disorder which is in these pretensions of change, had beene remedied, and men would haue beene more practicke, and better seene in those businesses, which are treated in euery one of them, being so different, and of so great consequence, and so hard to be vnderstood, that they will require the study and assistance of many yeares to vnderstand and know them aright. And (as the holy Ghost sayth) it is contrarie to the rules of good gouernment, and of prudence, to put one vpon that he vnderstands not, and to commit weighty affayres vnto him, who vndertaking them (as being tyed thereunto by his imployment) knowes not whether he be in the right, or no, though perhaps he presume he is. Likewise, there should be much more care had in the prouision of those places of other Audiencies, and inferiour Courtes of Chancerie, to the end that in them might be bred vp such subiects, in qualitie, learning, and vertue, that out of them, Election might be made of fit men for greater Counsells.

And that the Presidents should be chosen out of the said Councells in which they were bred vp, it is very conuenient, and grounded vpon good reason. For, hauing beene

beene conuersant in them some yeeres, by the concourse of so many things, as dayly offer themselues, thereby will be better knowen, their talent, and capacitie, their truth, their treating, their integritie, and all the worth and parts of their person, whereby the election that shall be made, will be much the better, more certaine in the things vndertaken, and more safe and secure in matter of conscience. And who is he can doubt, but that those Counsailours, which haue beene for a long time in your supremer Councells, will haue greater knowledge of the qualitie and substance of those businesses, which are treated in them, together with those necessary circumstances, which make for their better expedition. Besides, they will more perfectly know the State, wherein the businesses of that Tribunall stand, without being driuen to haue recourse vnto others to be better informed, spending and loosing much time therein. Againe, they know, (which is a matter of no small consideration) the rest of the Counsailours, as also their condition, their abilitie, their cleannesse of hands and heart, and their good, or bad parts, for there, better then else where, are they discouered. And this knowledge is very necessary in Presidents, for to deliberate, and make choise vpon all occasions, of the fittest persons, that are to be trusted, with businesses of importance. And it is of no lesse consequence to take notice of the suitors and pretenders, for to know how to carry themselues towards them, & to take particular knowledge of the good customes, ceremonies, preheminencies and priuileges of those Councells, that they may be kept and obserued, and that the authoritie of the Tribunall may be maintained, and all discordes and Competitions auoyded.

All these things are learned with time, and that experience which euery one hath of his proper Councell, wherein it is very requisite, that the President be a Master and not a Schollar, as he is, who enters newly into a Councell

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cell though he haue ſerued many yeares in another: and of no little inconuenience are the nouelties, which they both attempt and do, who are admitted without this experience, being deſirous to accommodate, and order things according to the meaſure of their own diſcourſe. And howbeit the want of experience be in Counſailours a matter of much conſideration, and may be tolerated and borne withall in ſome, yet in realtie of truth, the lacke thereof in a Preſident, is intolerable, and very preiudiciall to the whole Common-wealth; And from thence ariſe many great miſchiefes, and thoſe remedileſſe. For ſome out of ignorance, and ſome out of flatterie, do leane to their opinion, whereby many vniuſt decrees paſſe, whileſt the experienced and wiſer ſort, (which euermore are the fewer) haue not power equall to their ſufficiencie, to turne the courſe of the ſtreame. And for this reaſon, ſo many difficulties offer themſelues, ſo many differences are raiſed amongſt them, and ſo many reſolutions delayd and put off, (and peraduenture erre in the end too,) which would haue required a quicke and ſpeedy Diſpatch. But when a Preſident hath that experience which is needfull, he will not giue way to theſe delayes; but being priuie to his own ſufficiencie, and confident that he is in the right, looke what he preſſeth and affirmeth, the authoritie of his perſon and place, will make it good, and ſtrike a great, if not the only ſtroake, in the buſineſſe. For theſe and diuerſe other reaſons, in all well-gouerned Common-wealths and Communities, I would haue them make choiſe (for Gouernment) of ſuch ſubiects as haue beene bred vp, and liu'd ſome yeares in them; for they cannot but haue a great aduantage of thoſe that are ſtrangers thereunto, though otherwiſe of equall parts. And this is the trace and tracke of the Holy Ghoſt, marked out vnto vs by S. *Paul*; *Omnis enim Pontifex ex hominibus aſſumptus pro hominibus conſtituitur*: *For euery high Prieſt, taken from among men, is ordained for men.* Heb. 5. 1.

For

For it materreth much, that the head be of the same substance as is the body, and that all the members be of one and the same kinde, not to haue a head of gold, a body of brasse, and feete of clay, like vnto *Nabuchodonosors* image, but that all the whole body be one and the selfe same flesh and bone, all of the same matter and informed with the same forme. That bundle of sheafes which *Ioseph* saw, his (like the King-sheafe) lifting vp his head higher then the rest, and (if we may beleeue the *Rabbins*) reaching as high as heauen, and those of his brethren prostrate on the ground, doing homage thereunto, is the Emblem of the body of a Councell & it's President like vnto that of king *Pharaohs*. And the sacred Text doth not say, that that tall and high sheafe, was different in matter from the rest, but that all were of the same care, and stalke, giuing vs thereby to vnderstand, that he, that is to be the Head or President of the whole body of a Councell, though he be to be higher then the rest, in the dignitie and hight of his Office, yet for all this, God would not, that he should be made of any other kinde of matter then were the rest of the members. That he should not be some great block-headed Lord, or a man without wit, or learning, that in his carriage and manner of life, he should seeme to be cut out of another peece of cloath, but that hee should bee of the selfe same qualitie, fashion, and profession. And that the President of euery Councell, should be chosen from amongst the Counsellours themselues, that they be moulded out of the same Masse and lumpe, as well the feete, as the head, that there goe (as we say) but a payre of sheares betweene them, and that they be clad all in one and the same liuerie. And God giuing order to his Vice-roy (and in it, to all Kings) how he was to choose a President, that should be the Head and ruler ouer his people, saith thus vnto him; *Eum constitues, quem Dominus Deus tuus elegerit, de numero fratrum tuorum*: Thou shalt in any wise set him King ouer thee, whom thy Lord thy Deut. 17. 15.

God shall choose, One, from among thy brethren, shalt thou set King ouer thee. And howbeit God had heere expreſt himſelfe ſo plainely, and that he himſelfe had the nominating of the perſon, and therefore there could be no errour in the Election, yet it ſeemeth God was not ſatisfied heerewith, but comes preſently with another Prouiſo, and a ſecond *Mandatum*, ſaying: Thou mayſt not ſet a ſtranger ouer thee (*hominem alterius gentis*) which is not thy brother. He muſt not be of another people, or of another familie; As if he ſhould haue ſaid, not of another Councell. Doubtleſſe (ſaith S. *Chryſoſtome*) this is a buſineſſe of great conſequence; and we are ſo to inſiſt much thereupon, conſidering that God himſelfe doth recommend and repeate it ſo often vnto vs, to the end that it may be imprinted in the hearts of Kings. And in Reaſon of State, and matter of gouernment, it is the greateſt benefit they can do to their Kingdomes. And therefore amongſt other thoſe great and many fauours which God promiſed to conferre vpon his people, (ſpeaking vnto them in the ſimilitude of the Vine) he indeareth this as the greateſt, That he will ſet a guard about them, and Gardiners or vineyard keepers, that ſhall be within the precincts thereof. *Dabo ei vinitores ex rodino loco.* I will giue her, her Vineyards from thence, and the valley of Achor for a doore of hope. But (my good Lord) within the precincts of a Vineyard, what can be had there but hedges and Vine-plants? Had it not beene better to giue vnto this Vineyard a luſty ſtrong Laborer, to dreſſe and prune it, and to keepe and defend it from paſſengers? The *Chalde*, expounds this place very well, For in ſtead of *Vinitores*, he puts *Gubernatores*, Which, are Rulers and Preſidents. And for to be, as they ought to be, we haue ſaid already, that they ſhould be vniforme with the members. For if they be the Vine, he muſt likewiſe be a Vine, that muſt be their Head. Chriſt himſelfe, that he might be the Preſident and

Deut. 17. 15.

Chryſ. hom. 10. in Geneſim.

Hoſe. 2. 15.

Head

Head of that Apostolicall Councel where the Apostles were as tender plants, and had the same proprieties, made himselfe a Vine, to conforme himselfe vnto them: *Ego sum vitis vera & vos palmites*: I am the true Vine, and ye the branches. Ioh. 15.5. To the end that Kings may vnderstand, and all the World may know, of how great importance it is, that the Members and Head, Counsailours, and Presidents, should in their qualities and conditions, be very conformable, sithence that heerein he would not dispence with himselfe, much lesse therefore with others, and for this cause Presidents ought still to be chosen out of the same Councells, *Ex eodem loco, eiusdem gentis, & de numero fratrum suorum*: Out of the same place, the same people, and from amongst their brethren. And if Counsailours might haue the hope of such increase of honour in their persons, it would make them much better then they are, and they would study to win themselues credit, and to cumply in all things with their obligation, seruing with carefullnesse and satisfaction, as well to giue their King good content, as that they againe, might take notice thereof, and in their greatest occasions imploy them in their seruice. This rule did that great gouerner of Gods people *Moses* obserue, who hauing (as wee layd) vsed diligence for to seeke out persons, which might helpe him, furnished with those qualites afore-mentioned, made a distribution and diuision amongst them, allotting them places and Offices, answearable to their Talent. And which is worthy the noting, that (as he himselfe affirmeth in another place) the noblest, and wisest amongst them he made rulers ouer the rest. For, when in noblemen, concurre the qualities of wisedome, and prudence, and other the Vertues, there is a great deale of reason, nay a strong obligation lyes vpon it, that Presidentships, and the greatest dignities, & places of honour, should be bestowed vpon them; especially, when not degenerating from the Vertue of their Ancestors, but surpassing them therein, they haue the aduantage of

nobleneſſe of blood, vpon which vertue (like a Diamond ſet in gold) ſhewes it ſelfe the better, and appeares the more beautifull. The words of that moſt wiſe Law-giuer, whereon this diſcourſe will be the better grounded, are theſe,

Deus. 1. 15. *Tuli de Tribubus veſtris viros ſapientes, & nobiles, & conſtitui eos Principes, Tribunos, & Centuriones, & Quinquagenarios, ac Decanos, qui docerent vos ſingula: Ieaue the cheife of your Tribes, wiſe men and knowen, and made them Heads ouer ye, Captaines ouer thouſands, and Captaines ouer hundreds, and Captaines ouer fifties, and Officers amongſt your Tribes.* Out of euery Tribe he choſe the worthieſt and moſt ſufficient men, and made them Heads and Preſidents in that gouernment. And he, that was ſo zealous of the Lawes and good gouernment, valiant *Mattathias*, in that prouiſion of Offices, which he diſtributed, at his death, he ſaid of *Simon*, *Scio quod vir conſilij eſt, ipſum audite ſemper.* And becauſe he was ſo wiſe a Counſilour, he made him Preſident of the Councell. *Iudas Machabæus fortis à iuuentute ſua.* *Iudas Machabæus*, was a valiant man from his youth, he had beene alwayes bred vp in the warres, *Sit vobis princeps militiæ*; and, therefore he made him Generall of the Armie. For (as *Plato* ſaith) *Quilibet ad ea idoneus eſt in quibus ſæpe verſatus fuit.* Euery man is fitteſt for thoſe things wherein he hath beene skill. Now, when kings ſhall haue found out ſuch fit perſons (as haue bin by vs propounded) they are to diſtribute & order their Councells and Counſilours, & to appoint their Preſident, charging them to keepe euery one his proper place and Station, & that they enuy not one another nor ſue to be preferred to a ſupremer Councell, and to haue a care that each man in his owne Councell be rewarded according to his good ſeruices. For it is impoſſible, but that he that trenteth in all buſineſſes, muſt needs erre in ſome, nor can he, that is ouercharged with buſineſſes giue good ſatisfaction vnto all. But there are ſome, that loue to double their files, & would, if they could, haue all

1 Mac. 2.

Plato.

Offices at once pretending, that there is want of fit men for those Offices, seeking that they may be doubled, redoubled, and quadrupled on themselues. They are like vnto another *Gerion*, of whom it is sayd, that he is in Hell, because hee would be Three, instead of One. What will become then of those, that would be twenty yea a hundred, nay inioy all the Offices in a Kingdome? These had neede of another farre greater Hell, if that be not hell enough, they haue already.

With the foresayd distinction and diuision of Councell and Counsellours, farre better and more speedily will businesses be dispatched, and the King shall be at more ease in his person, and more at quiet in Conscience. And the Counsellours themselues, shall leade an easier life, haue lesse time of trouble, and more to study on State-businesses, whereby with moderate paines, they shall giue a quicker Dispatch to those things which come vnder their debating. Let this therfore serue as a Conclusion to this discourse; that in no kinde of hand, Offices be doubled vpon one particular person, nor put out of their hinges, by the passion or pretension of those, that haue a hand therein, nor let Counsellours bee chopt and changed, from one place, to another, nor your Councells confounded. For this argues but small satisfaction in the Ministers, and much distrustfullnesse in the Prince. But let vs passe on.

The Author prosecutes the same subiect, and shewes how Kings ought to carry themselues, with their Counsells and Counsellours.

His Order being thus fouled for Kings, they like wise and to haue care that they keepe within their owne busines, nor remouing either them or the men there imployed, out of their proper places, for from the crushing and barring of these things, from this hopping and changing, grow many and more to study mightie troubles, and confusion in gouernment. What strange thing would it be, to see what would become of vs all, if that order which God placed in the World, should be altered? if the earth should go about the Ayre, and the Ayre should passe beyond the Sphere of fire? what were this, but to destroy the World? So good gouernment in like manner is destroyed by the Ambition and Couetousnesse of those, who not contented with their imployments and places, draw by force out of their high Orbe for to make themselues Lords and Masters of all, and to pursue, by this meanes, their idle vanities, ambitious humours, and particular interest. The Holy Ghost, in that Misticall booke of the *Canticles*, compares the Gouernment of the Church to a well ordred Army, or pitcht field, where the pikes are ranked on the one side, the shot on the other, the horse in a third, and all the rest in their due places appointed for them. And in this well ordring and marshalling of the Men, consisteth the strength of an Army. A Christian, and Church-like Common-wealth, by the good order that

is

is kept therein, is as Terrible as an Army with banners to its Enemies, and as beautifull as *Thirzah*, and comely as *Ierusalem*, in the sight both of God, and Man. And when Kings do hit right the distribution of their Offices, and in giuing to euery one, that which is fitting for him, according to his condition and qualitie, most certaine it is, that euery man shall get aduantage thereby, and proue more excellent in his proper place and Office, then those can be, who haue beene imployed in other Offices and places. And that they, who haue beene deputed to such a Councell, do well exercise therein, shall far better know what belongs thereunto, then those that haue not had experience and knowledge thereof. Euermore presupposing, that with the foresayd care and diligence, choise hath beene made of the most sufficient. For which reason, we are to giue credit to euery one in particular, and to all togither in their Ministries, as to selected persons, and such as are their crafts Masters in these kinde of matters. For (as the holy Ghost saith) *Vnusquisque in tot sapiens est* Eccl. Euery one is wise in his owne Art. According thereto both how to speake and do. According to this ground, Kings cannot doe any thing better or surer for the good gouernment of their Kingdomes, and satisfaction of their Consciences, then to giue credit to each Councell in that which appertaineth vnto them, and to leaue vnto their ordinary Councellours and Councels the Dispatch of all your running businesses without any particular Consultation, vnlesse it shall more neerely concerne the State, whereof as the King ought onely to be the Iudge, and to giue his resolution what he will haue therein to be done; So likewise must he lend them his hand and authoritie, as far forth as is fitting, proportionable to the bulke and qualitie of their Office, without which they cannot well exercise the same. Whereas not to giue them that, which they iustly deserue, is a great impediment to their complying

Cant. 6. 4.

with the occaſion to which are the ſubſtantial part of their obligation, and giues occaſion to others, not to yeeld them obedience & reſpect, which are the raines of that bridle, wherewith the people are to be reſtrained and ruled, And together with this, they themſelues muſt helpe to ſuſtaine the weight and charge of gouernment, wherein they haue ſo great a portion. The Emperour *Charles* the fift of glorious memorie, was much commended for the great care he tooke in conſeruing the authoritie of his Miniſters. And it is not to be doubted, but thoſe ancient graue Miniſters, whom the people reuerenceth and reſpecteth for the place wherein they are, and for the opinion which they haue gained by their yeares, and experience, and for the authoritie they haue to do either well, or ill, and for that power they poſſeſſe, and which the Lawes grant vnto them ouer mens liues, and goods, may doe much in authorizing, or diſauthorizing not onely all that they doe, but euen the Prince himſelfe. Hence will iſſue this other benefit, that a great part of your Audiences (too ordinary a trouble with Kings) will be much leſſened, whereby they ſhall be the more diſoccupied, and recouer greater force and ſtrength for to treat of waightier affaires, not waſting and ſpending to times in matters of leſſer moment. And this bad and old cuſtome ought to haue it's leggs broken and heereafter be diſinabled for attributing vnto Kings thoſe reſolutions, that are diſagreeable and diſpleaſing to the people. For albeit thoſe ineuitable offences and diſtaſtes, which ſometimes cannot be auoyded, ought to be indured, and paſſed ouer with diſſimulation, for the publicke good, yet is it not ſafe to procure them for euery particular thing, nor that all men ſhould know, that all their dammages and hinderances proceede from the ſupreme will of the King. And it is as olde, as vſuall a fashion with your Miniſters, when the people murmure at them, (I cannot tell whether it be done with that wiſedome and loyaltie which they owe to their King)

King) to lay the fault on their ſuperiour, and the people eaſily intertaineth it, and apprehends it, to be ſo. Whereupon they throw all the ſtones, that they can at him, and although they cannot reach him, yet is it not fit, that they ſhould grow to that inſolency and contempt.

Let Kings, by all poſſible meanes excuſe thoſe *Iuntas*, or References, which haue lately beene introduced for the deciding of buſineſſes, a thing as ill receiued in common, as deſired by the Miniſters; and that for many reaſons. Firſt, that the people, and the Parties, may not thinke, or ſay, that it is done to oppreſſe them, by putting buſineſſes out of their Courſe, and recommending them to a few ſelected perſons, that they may ſo end them, as he deſireth, who hath the nominating of them. Secondly, that they may not draw vpon themſelues the hatred and burthen of thoſe reſolutions they ſhall take, if they ſhall be either in offence and diſtaſt of the people, or of the Partie whom it concerneth. Thirdly, becauſe there is no cauſe or reaſon, why they, that are truſted with all other publike buſineſſes, ſhould not likwiſe be truſted with particular greiuances. Fourthly, becauſe your ordinary Councels haue more experience of thoſe buſineſſes, which they treate dayly, then your *Iuntas* haue, which are formed of different Councels, wherin vſually, there are many which ſcarce know the firſt Principles of that, wherof they are to treate, & muſt be guided & directed by thoſe, which are taken out of that Councell, which is acquainted with theſe kind of buſineſſes. Or if they will not confeſſe this, by their ignorance, and by their Competition, they deferre at leaſt, if not vtterly ouerthrow the reſolution that ſhould be taken in the buſineſſe. For, being (as they are) compoſed of diſferent Tribunalls, they neither loue, nor truſt one another, neither know they how to yeeld each to other, but grow ſtiffe & obſtinate, and attend onely to ſhew their wit & learning vpon thoſe that are vnuerſt in thoſe affaires. Whileſt in the meane while it ſucceedeth with mens buſineſſes, as it doth with thoſe diſeaſes

diſeaſes and ſickneſſes, which are diſcuſt and debated by many Phyſitians who whilſt they are diuided in opinion, and one would haue this, and another that, the time of the cure is paſt. Fiftly, for the credit and authoritie of the King, as alſo of the Councels themſelues; for when that which belongs to theſe Counſailours and their Preſident, is taken out of their hands by artifice and cunning, and is recommended to others, in no hand can be excuſed the note and ſuſpition, that either the King hath erred in the Election which he made of theſe his Counſellours, or that they do not do their duty, becauſe that which did properly appertaine vnto them, is taken from them, and put ouer to others. And as it ſhould be a fault in a Prince, not to truſt his Miniſters, if they deſerue to be truſted; ſo is it likewiſe, if they diſmerit that truſt, to continue them in that place. And therefore that Miniſter, from whom there can be had no good ſatisfaction, let him be put out of his Office. For to keepe him in it, argues either weakneſſe in a Prince, or an euill Conſcience. Sixtly, That that may not by your Diſcourſiſts, and Wits (as they call them) whereof Kings Courts are full, diuine afore hand, what is treated in thoſe *Iuntas*, which are no ſooner had, but the end of them is knowne; a thing which cannot but be of infinite inconuenience for all affaires, and more particularly in thoſe, which as they are of more importance, ſo doe they require more reſeruedneſſe. Seuenthly, becauſe Miniſters may haue time and place for to heare Negotiants, which they cannot haue, nor be able to remedy matters, nor to vnderſtand them, vnleſſe they may haue the hearing of them. And though this complaint, be without fault on the Counſailours part, I am ſure it is not without puniſhment of thoſe, that are to negociate with them. And laſtly, becauſe it is a great errour and intolerable burthen, to tye two or three, to the diſpatch of many buſineſſes of peace, and of warre, of the Exchequer, & of the ſtate, and of diuers other

other things, which dayly offer themselues; for (as experience teacheth, reason requireth, and inconuenience proclaimes it) it is impossible to giue a good issue and dispatch to all, nay scarce to the least part of businesses. For a man is not made of brasse, that hee should be able to indure the trouble of so many *turnes*, and at last his spirits will be so spent, that he will be able to doe little seruice in those that are last treated. Counsailours know not, like Angels, *Diuino intuitu*, but as Men, by way of discourse, and in this they are tyred out, and ouer-wrought; and it is not possible, that at the latter end of the day, they should be so quicke and nimble, as at the first hower, after they haue taken paines all the day long. For this vertue is granted to spirits, which know and comprehend things without measure, or wearisomnesse. Mans vnderstanding is finite, and hee said not ill, that said; The seruice, which is occupied in many things is weakened by euery one of them. And in that repartment and diuision, which that Euangelicall father of his familie, made of the Talents amongst his seruants he gaue vnto euery one of them, *secundum propriam virtutem*. He measured their abilities, and conformable thereunto imposed a charge vpon them. How many doe groane vnder the burthen of those offices, which they beare, without being able to vndergoe them; yet will not they leaue these, because their ambition does not leaue them. But rather applying themselues to the gust and Palate of their King, and out of a disordinate desire they haue to grow still greater and greater, they are well content with loade vpon loade, and neuer cry Ho, because they neuer thinke they haue enough. And so not complying (as indeed they cannot) with their obligation, businesses are retarded, and goe not on in that good way as they should, and both they themselues, and they that put them into these places, liue with little or no securitie of conscience. But if it be the Kings will and pleasure, and that hee thinke it fit for his greater satisfaction,

satisfaction that some one particular man that is eminent in the profession of that business, which is to be treated, shall treate thereof, and shall see and peruse it, a gods name (if he will haue it so) let his will be fulfilled: yet with all, let his Maiestie take his opinion, as of a particular person, and hauing receiued it, let it be disputed, discussed, and debated by the body of the Councell, such as haue beene beaten in these kinde of businesses, and are throughly acquainted with these matters; for by this meanes, that which is pretended, shall the better be effected, and many the fore-mentioned inconueniences be excused. Amongst those Ancient *Romans*, when that Common-wealth was sole Mistris of all the world, and when it was likewise vnder the Empire and Command of one onely *Monarke*, we neuer read, that it euer admitted of more then the Ordinary Councells for the dispatch of businesses. *Augustus Cæsar*, a Prince of excellent prudence, and his great *Minion Mecænas*, in matter of Counsaile, can sufficiently confirme this Doctrine, being that he himselfe was one of those, that treated businesses in the ordinary Councells. And he had a respect and consideration thereunto in that extraordinary cause of *Piso* touching the death of *Germanicus*, wherein the iudgement of the people, and the Senate was so much interessed. *Tiberius* the Emperour who was one of the subtilest and craftiest Princes, that euer the *Roman* Empire knew, would not for all his great strength of wit, & cunning dissimulation, wherein he was his Arts-Master, venter vpon any innouation farther then this, to passe ouer his opinion to this, or that other Councell, but neuer appointed any particular *Iunta* for the same, as one who knew very well, that onely in so doing he should haue but laded his own shoulders with the weightinesse of the Case, and the successe of the Cause. Onely your *Iuntas*, are to be vsed vpon some great and extraordinary occasion, and not vpon euery trifling businesse, as is now and

Corn. Tacit.

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hath these many yeares beene in vse, much more time being imployed in particular *Iuntas*, then publicke Councells touching the persons of these Councells. If the number be not sufficient for the dispatch of businesses, let it rather be increased, then that by this other course, he that is Master and Lord of all, should likewise make himselfe Master of all wrongs and grieuances, and of that which the aggrieued will conceiue of him; which hatching imagination of theirs, will bring forth (that *Cocatrice* of Kings) most venemous hatred. By that, which wee haue both read, seene and heard, it is easie to be collected, that this was meerely an Introduction of the Ambitious, who indeauoured by this meanes to haue all things passe through their hands, and depend vpon their will. And this, as if it had beene a thing of inheritance, hath gon along in descent from one age to another, euen to these our present times. That particular Councell which Kings formerly had, and in effect all of them still haue, that more reserued secret Councell with whom they communicate their inwardest thoughts, let it (a Gods name) be superiour to all the rest, which supplying, as in those three *potentiæ* or faculties, the very place and soule as it were of the Prince, it is very fit and conuenient, that it should iudge of the actions, and Resolutions of all your Ordinary Councells, and that they should all wayte vpon this, and attend their pleasure, and that they should likewise treate of all those great businesses, which the Ancient, and more especially, *Augustus Cæsar*, called *Arcana imperij*, Misteries of State, and secrets of the kingdome. But for the rest, let them be left to their Ordinary Councells for so shall they receiue quicker dispatch, and all sutes be more easily ended, and things carryed with lesse labour of the one, and fewer complaints of the other. And let it likewise suffice euen the greatest intermedlers of these Ministers, that they haue a hand in publicke businesses, without offering for their priuate interest to draw things out of their ordinary course, and Com-

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mon tracke whereinto they were put, making themſelues thereby hated and abhorred of all thoſe that haue any thing to doe with them. For at laſt they will come to ſent and winde out their driftes, to know all their doublings and ſhiftings, and to watch them at euery turne, and when they haue them at aduantage, neuer poore Hare was ſo hardly followed by Hounds, as theſe will be purſu'd to death by them, whom the others powerfullneſſe with his Prince, did ſeeke to cruſh and keepe vnder. It were well that theſe great Miniſters, would weigh and conſider with themſelues, that as they haue their hands already too full of worke, ſo haue they more complaints againſt them, then they would willingly heare of, and more enuie at the heeles of them, then they can well ſhake of, and therefore (if they were wiſe) they would auoyd (as much as in them lyes) to draw theſe miſchiefes more and more vpon themſelues.

In great reſolutions indeed, Kings are not to giue way, that they ſhould be taken out of the Councells of State, and warre, nor yet that they ſhould be concluded without them. For the glory of all good ſucceſſefull Actions ſhall be his, as hauing their reuolution and motion from him, as from their *Primum Mobile*. Nor is it any wiſedome in a King to lay the misfortunes and vnhappy Accidents, that may befall a State, vpon his owne ſhoulders; Which will be qualified for ſuch by his Priuy Counſellours, as finding themſelues iuſtly offended, in that hee hath not imparted his minde vnto them, nor communicated with them in the Common-wealths affaires, eſpecially if they be of conſequence. The principall cauſe, why there was ordained a Councell of State, was; That it might ſerue to helpe the king (whom principally this Body repreſenteth) to beare the Popular charge, which euermore iudgeth of things by the euents; and though now and then they fall out ill, and the people thereupon ready to murmure and mutinie, yet are they the better bridled, and appeaſed by the power and authoritie

thoritie of these Counsellours. The Office of a King hath trouble inough with it, burthen inough, and therefore they should not aduise him to lay more vpon himselfe without lawfull and necessary cause. And because, when I treated of the qualities of Counsellours, I reserued those for this place, which more properly appertaine vnto them that are of this Counsell, I will breefely deliuer what they are, and how necessarie for those that are elected thereunto; And I will content my selfe with no lesse, then those of that great Common-wealths man, and Counsellour, *Pericles*. And besides, to those which I shall now speake of, may be reduced those, which are to be required in their other Councells; your Councell of State, is a Councell of Peace, and War; And (as *Plato* saith) is the soule of the Republike, and the very Anchor, wheron wholy dependeth all the stabilitie, firmenesse, & assurance, of the State, King, and Kingdome; it's perdition, or preseruation. Whose chiefe aime, and principall intent, is the good Gouernment of the Common-wealth, and that it, and euery member thereof should liue happily, and be conserued in peace, and iustice. And for this cause onely are we to make war. *Ob eam causam suscipienda sunt bella, vt sine iniuria in pace vivatur.* It is *Cicero's* saying. And the Emperour *Charles* the fifth was wont to say; That the Councell of State, is the whole wisedome, power, and vnderstanding of the King; That it is his Eyes, his hands, and his feete; And that himselfe, should often sit in Counsell and without it not to do, or conclude any thing that is of any weight, or moment.

Cicer. Offi. lib. 1.
Plat. Dial. 1. de Legibus. 1.

The qualities required to make a perfect Counseller in this Councell are many; As that he be a man of much courage, truth, and integritie, and well seene in matters of State and Gouernment, publick, and priuate, of peace, and of warre; for he is to aduise in all; A man of good yeares, great vertue, much authoritie, and of no meane credit and reputation; That he be very skilful in those businesses, which

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he treateth; That he vnderstand them well, and be his Crafts-Master in that faculty. That he be of a prompt and sharpe wit; That his tongue be well hangd, and be able to expresse himselfe so happily, that he may be truly vnderstood. That he haue a minde free from all by-respects, that neither Loue, nor Feare, may detaine him from vttering what he thinketh; That he beare an especiall loue and affection to his King; That he keepe his hands cleane, and not suffer himselfe to be ouercome by couetousnesse. For he, that in whatsoeuer is propounded, presently apprehends what is best, and vnderstands what is proffitable, and conuenient, yet neither knoweth, nor hath fitting words to declare himselfe, it is all one, as if he vnderstood it not. And he that can play both these parts passing well, yet loueth not his Master, his conseruation and augmentation of honour, this man will hardly be true and trusty vnto him, and scarcely adiuse him to that which is fitting for him. But suppose he hath all these good qualities, yet if he giue way to be won by the loue of money, and greedinesse of gaine, all that shall be treated with him, shall be saleable, no whit weighing the benefit, and authoritie of his King, if the insatiable, hunger of riches be put in the scale. And I say moreouer, that he, that shall want these two qualities, and shall not loue his King, and yet loue Couetousnesse, though he be indewed with all the rest, he shall thereby be so much the worse, and more dangerous, for hauing his will depraued, and his vnderstanding ill affected, hauing these two Vices attending on him, how much the more shall his sharpnesse of wit be, and the greater his force of Eloquence, the worse effects will it worke, and the more remediless. Let Counsellours therefore haue these two qualities, Loue of the heart and cleannesse of the hand, together with good naturall partes, as a quicke wit, and nimble apprehension, for the speedier determining of present businesses, and not onely to giue sodaine, but

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ſound aduiſe in them. And that in future caſes, they may be able by naturall diſcourſe to giue a gueſſe, how things are like to ſucceede; as alſo, that they may by good diſcourſe, and debating of buſineſſes, attaine vnto thoſe things, whereof as yet they haue not had particular experience. That they be prudent diſcerners of the better and the worſe in Caſes doubtfull, that they may not be to ſeeke, but to goe through ſtitch therewith and be prouided for all commers. In a word, let them be excellent ſodaine ſpeakers vpon all occaſions, aſſiſted as well by a naturall kinde of gift they haue that way, as by the exerciſe of their wit. All which will not ſerue the turne, nor make the Mill go ſo roundly as it would, vnleſſe there be much amitie amongſt them, and a conformitie of good agreement, and a willing helping and aſſiſting one of another in buſineſſes. For, from Competitions and Conteſtations amongſt themſelues, haue inſued the loſſe of Kingdomes, and States, and other great loſſes and Calamities. They muſt bee of one accord, and one will with their King, and ſtill aduiſe him to the beſt, hauing an eye both to him and themſelues, that they doe not erre, or doe any thing contrary to that which is right and iuſt. And then is it to be vnderſtood, that they beare true loue to their King, and Countrie, and that they apply themſelues to all that, which concernes the common good, and their owne particular ſeruice, when they take ioy and comfort, that they concurre, and runne all one way without diuiſion or diſtraction. And if this vnitie be not amongſt them, it is to be imagined, that they loue not ſo much the King, and State, as their owne priuate intereſt. Being thus qualified, they ſhall be fit Miniſters and Counſellors for ſo great a Counſell, for they ſhall therby be able to rid as many buſineſſes as ſhall be brought before them, and giue them good and quicke diſpatch, well vnderſtanding what is needefull to be done, and know-

Ley. 29. Tit. 9. Part. 2.

ing as well how to declare themſelues in that which they vnderſtand.

And in this or any other Councell, there ought (according to *Fadrique Furio*) a care to be had, to examine the merits and diſmerits of euery one, informing themſelues of his life, behauiour, and abilities, as alſo the Actions, of thoſe who without ſuing, deſerue for their vertue, to haue fauour ſhowen them; and likewiſe to take notice of thoſe who deſire this preferment. And that for this purpoſe there be a Regiſter or Booke kept of the meriteds, and fauours to be conferred, and of the perſons that are well deſeruing, to the end that thoſe honours and fauours may be thrown vpon them, according to the vertue, ſufficiencie, and merits of the men. For he, that depriues Vertue of that honour that is due thereunto, doth (in *Cato's* opinion) depriue men, of vertue it ſelfe. And when fauours are afforded thoſe which not deſerue them, or are forborne to be beſtowed on thoſe that merit them, vertue receiues a great affront, and the Common-wealth a notable loſſe. And it will proue the greater if honour be added to the bad, and taken from the good; and that vice, ſhall be better rewarded, then vertue. For where ſhe is not eſteemed, and rewarded, the vertuous liue like men affronted, and that are baniſhed the Court. King *Nabucodonoſor*, *Aſſuerus*, and others, haue kept ſuch a booke as this, wherein were commanded to be recorded the ſeruices that were done them, and the perſons deſeruing, to the end they might gratifie them, and caſt their gracious fauours vpon them. And this is very neceſſary in all well ordred Common-wealths, to the end that all might indeauour to take paines, and ſtudy to deſerue well. For reward inciteth men to labour; And (as *Saluſt* ſaith) were it not for hope of reward, few or none would be good. It makes much likewiſe for the honor and credit of Kings. For in no one thing can they gaine themſelues greater reputation, then by honouring thoſe, that are good, and vertuous.

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The *Romans* had likewiſe another Councell which was called by the name of *Cenſura*, or Reforming of manners, which did not in the Common-wealth permit publicke delinquents, which might cauſe either trouble, or ſcandall to the State, and to the end, that ſuch ill diſpoſed perſons, might not eſcape puniſhment. For, where there is neither hope of reward, nor feare of puniſhment, there can we haue no good thing, no Common-wealth, nor no Congregation of men to laſt and continue; when as the good and vertuous are not rewarded, nor the lewd and ſeditious puniſhed. For if one part of the body be infirme, and be not holpen in time, the maladie extends it ſelfe, and goes creeping and ſpreading it ſelfe ouer all the whole body. And therefore it is fitting, that Miniſters ſhould haue an eye, to ſee what vices, what diſorders, what ill corrupted manners diſturbe and moleſt a Kingdome, and to haue a care to cleanſe and cure the Common wealth of them, dealing with them for the publicke good, as wiſe Phyſitians do for the Bodyes-ſafety Who, in the curing of infirmities, for the ſecuring of the whole, cauterize this or that member, and if neede be cut it off. Now your infirmities and diſeaſes, which are quickly knowne, are as eaſily cured (a great meanes of the remedy, reſting in the diſcouerie.) but thoſe which with time waxe olde, grow in a manner incurable; (the Aliment, and fomenting of them, conſiſting moſt in their concealement,) For as in ſuffering and diſſembling a ſore, it but rankles the more, and of ill, becomes worſe; So to beare with inſolent offenders, and to winke at their foule faultes, is; as if a man ſhould fauour a wound too much, wherby, as it, ſo do they daily grow worſe and worſe. For it is too too well knowne, that to malignant diſpoſitions, the more lenitie, is but the more licence of offending, and open mercie proclaimed, Crueltie.

Let the end of this diſcourſe be, that the Councells and Counſellers being ſeated and ſetled in the forme aforeſaid,

the King likewise apply himselfe to treat truth with them, and to deale plainely with them, in whatsoeuer businesses shall offer themselues to be debated of. And let him not perswade himselfe, that there are too few of euery Councell, for if they be chosen and selected men, few will suffice; and many, serue to no other end but to trouble each other, and to delay businesses. For howbeit it be true, that it is euermore good to heare the opinions of all for to ventilate and sifte out a cause throughly, yet the determination ought to passe through the hands of a few, but withall good, and experienced persons, that they may not erre in their sentence. Of the Emperour *Alexander Seuerus*, (who was a man of singular wisdome) it is reported, that for the resolution of those businesses, which he vndertooke, he called onely vnto him such Counsellours, to whom such businesse did more properly appertaine, and had most knowledge and experience in that, which was to be treated. *Vndè si de Iure tractaretur, solos doctos in consilium adhibebat; Si verò de re militari, milites veteres, & senes, ac bene meritos, & locorum peritos, &c.* So that if it were a Law-businesse, he onely called the Learned in the Lawes to Councell, if of warfare, olde beaten Soldiers, aged and well-deseruing Captaines, and of approued experience in their place. And so in the rest. For, as the Philosopher saith; *Impossibile est, vel certè admodum difficile, vt qui ipsa opera non tractat, peritè valeat iudicare*: It is impossible, or at least certainly very hard, for to iudge iudiciously of those things, wherein a man was neuer yet imployd. But that which hath beene a mans Office, and continuall Exercise, in this he must needs be wise, and cannot choose but speake well to the point. *Quilibet ad ea idoneus est, in quibus sapit* (saith *Plato*). Some there are, that are wise, but (like the *Troians*) too late; They know what is to be done, but are too long in doing it: and therefore it is necessary to adde hands to Counsell and force to wisedome; yet still allowing the Councell somuch time,

Ælius Lampr. in vita Alexan. Seueri.

Arist. lib. 8. Polit. cap. 6.

Plato lib 11. de fortitud.

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as things may come to their true ripeneſſe and maturitie; For (as it is in the Prouerbe) *Harto preſtò ſe haze lo, que bien ſe haze*: That is quickely done that is well done. And very neceſſary is that pauſe and breathing, wherewith Kings goe ripening great buſineſſes; And exceeding fit it is, that they ſhould goe ſoberly to worke, take time and leaſure inough, and that in their conſultations they ſhould vſe feete of leade, but in the execution of them, hands of ſteele. Which being once well grounded, and both the Conueniences, and Inconueniences throughly weighed, (though in theſe great and weighty affaires, there are neuer ſome wanting, that will follow that part, which hath leaſt ground for it, and yet perſwade themſelues that they onely are in the right, and that all the reaſon in the world is on their ſide) let them goe roundly to worke, and after a concluded conſultation, let them ſhew themſelues conſtant in the execution thereof. For, as another Philoſopher ſaid; *Cunctanter aggrediendum eſt negotium, verùm in ſuſcepto, conſtanter perſeuerandum*: A maine buſineſſe muſt haue a ſlow motion, but when the wheeles are once ſet a going, they muſt neuer ſtand ſtill till it haue finiſhed it's intended worke. And the Prophet *Eſay*, ioyned the ſpirit of fortitude, to that of Councell. For Counſaile little auaileth, that is deuoid of force and ſtrength to execute. *Vile eſt Conſilium* (ſaith Pope *Gregory*) *cui robur fortitudinis deeſt*: That Counſaile is vile and baſe; that wants true mettall. Let Counſell I ſay be ſlow, & ſauour of the lamp, but let the Execution, be quicke as lightening. For, as mortall are thoſe wounds, & thoſe diſeaſes, to which remedy is giuen too late, as thoſe, to whom none is giuen at all. To what end therefore (I pray) ſerue your *Iuntas*, vpon *Iuntas*, reference vpon reference, your long and large Conſultations, your viewings, and reuiewings, if after all this great adoe, all is roll'd and ſhut vp in paper? Whereas in all reaſon, nay and right too, how much the more time there hath beene ſpent in conſulting,

Diog. Laert.

Iſay 11.2.

so much the more speede and force ought to be vsed in Executing. For, on good Counsaile, and quicke Execution, consist your good ends, and all prosperous successe.

Chap. XIIII.

It is demanded by way of Question, Whether Kings ought inuiolably to obserue the foresaid Order.

ART, is Natures Ape, and imitates her all she can. And by so much the more perfect an Artificer, and more cunning workeman is he accounted, who shall seeme to come neerest in his worke to that great Master and Maker of Nature, and whatsoeuer is naturall, wherein (as hath already beene sayd) is conserued and kept that firme and constant Law, and first commandement, which he imposed vpon all things in the beginning of their creation. Who likewise hath, and doth still keepe a wonderfull correspondency in those very things, conseruing them in their operations, working and operating continually by their meanes and helpe, and honouring them with the name and effence of secundary Causes, though he himselfe be the primary naturall cause in that working. So that the fire, hath alwaies perfourmed that Office, wherin God placed it, to wit; To burne, or heate. And when he hath beene pleased to worke these effects, he hath made vse of them for that purpose, as well vpon occasion of his wrath, and chastisement, as of his loue, and cherishment. When he was willing to destroy and consume those Cities of *Sodom* and *Gomorrah*, he did not make vse of water but of fire, which he sent among them to execute his iudge-

Gen. 19. 24.

ment

ment vpon that occasion. And for to *Regular*, and make much of that Mirrour of patience *Iob*, and to exercise him in that vertue, *Ignis cecidit è cælo, & tactas oues, puerosq; consumpsit: The fire of God is fallen from heauen, and hath burnt vp the sheepe, and the seruants; &c.* For to throw downe the house, and at one blow to kill all his children, that were met together to make merry, he made vse of the Winde. For to drowne the world, he serued himselfe with the water, and in the desert, he drew water out of the Rocke, to quench the thirst of his people, and to preserue them from perishing. So that Life, Death, and Health, which God can giue solely of himselfe, yet will he haue it be wrought by the helpe and meanes of those secundary naturall Causes. And euen at the day of iudgement he will make vse of all these, for the punishment of the wicked, as we haue it set downe in the booke of *Wisedome*; *Et pugnabit cum illo orbis terrarum contrà insensatos: And the world shall fight with him against the vnwise.* This order and naturall Law, wherewith God conserueth and gouerneth the world, Kings ought to imitate and follow in the gouernment of their Common-wealths, giuing their Ministers iurisdiction and Authoritie proportionable to their Office, without the which they cannot well exercise the same. And as long as these his Ministers shall go on in an orderly Course, or shall imitate in their constancie those naturall causes, and shall be punctuall and faithfull in their Ministries, the gouernment ought not to be altered or receiue any change. But when they shall faile in their obligation, another order must be taken with them. And therfore I say, that in some cases, the best & surest course that can be taken, is; That Kings proceede after another kinde of manner, by being serued by other Ministers, and Counsellers that they may comply with that which tends to the seruice of God, and the good of their kingdomes. Especially, when (as hath bin said) Ministers abuse that power which is giuen them & make it the meanes to afflict the good, and to doe other

Iob 1.16.

Wisd. 5.20.

wrongs and iniuries. And this, the ſacred Scripture teacheth
Dan. 3. 7. vs in that Hiſtory of *Daniel*, where it is reported, that when *Shadrach*, and his two Companions were caſt into the fiery fournace, the kings Miniſters cauſed the fournace to be heated ſo hot, that the flames of fire aſcended ſome 49. Cubits high: But by how much the more power the fire had for to burne thoſe innocent children in that occaſion, by ſomuch the more to the greater aſtoniſhment of the ſtanders by, God ſlaked the force thereof, cauſing that in that very place, where for to conſume theſe Saints, the fire was moſt kindled, a coole freſh ayre entred in, and did refreſh them. And the King himſelfe, who came to ſee this wonder told them, that he eſpied in the companie of theſe three children a fourth man, which ſeemed to be like vnto the ſon of God. For indeed ſo it was, that this his Diuine goodneſſes, did not content it ſelfe with deading the force of that intenſiue flame, but made meanes by his Angell, to come & free theſe Innocents from that torment. Therein, inſtructing kings, That albeit it be fit, that ordinarily, they ſhould ſuffer buſineſſe to paſſe by the hands of thoſe Miniſters, to whom they belong; yet when the ſubiect is extremly wronged, & iniuſtice offred by them againſt the Innocent, Kings ought not to reſpect the Order and ordinary courſe of Law, but to take another courſe with them, and (if neede be) wholy to change and alter it, and in his own proper perſon, to direct things to their due ends, taking from the fire it's Actiuitie, & inſtead thereof ſending a pleaſing coole gale of wind, as God did. For experience teacheth vs, that this ill ſeede or bad race of Miniſters, makes poſt-haſt, & quickly ouerrunnes a Common-wealth, as ill weedes doe a ground, to the great diſhonour of kings, and diminution of their credit, and to the notable dammage and deſtruction of kingdomes. Oh how doth it diſcouer it ſelfe in theſe our vnhappy and miſerable times, how much more, and how many Cubits higher then it was wont, doth the fire of Ambition, and Auarice, mount in many Miniſters, who grow by this meanes to be ſo great, and

ſo

ſo high, that they quite looſe the ſight of themſelues, and goe beyond the reach of their own knowledge, being in a manner beſides themſelues puft vp with their promotion, and the high places they poſſeſſe, ſeeming to be another kind of men, then they were wont to be. And this their folly and madneſſe extends it ſelfe ſo farre, that they will not ſuffer themſelues (forſooth) to be ſeene, or knowne, by thoſe, whom not long ſince (God he knowes) they adored as Gods, but now are growne ſo proud, and into ſo good a conceit of themſelues, that they thinke themſelues to be ſomething more then men. Of theſe, S *Bernard* giues this admirable good note; You ſhall ſee (ſaith he) many in the Church of God, as alſo in Kings Courts, without noble-neſſe made noble, and of poore, become rich, to be ſodainly puffed vp with pride, forgetting their former Eſtate, to be aſhamed of their Anceſtors, and diſdainfull towards their poore kinſefolke, and by a ſtrong hand, and with lyes and falſhoods, they ſeeke and procure that, which Nature hath deny'd them, and being not noble by birth, nor innobled by vertue, ſet a good face on the matter and by ſuch art and cunning as they will vſe, would ſeeme to the world to be great Princes, and to be well deſcended, fetching their feigned Pedigrees, as farre as *Noahs* flood: Farre vnlike vnto him, who by his vertue came from a Potter, to be a King; who, that he might not forget, whence he came, and yet repreſent what he was, cauſed to be ſet on his Court-cupboord veſſells of earth, with this Letter; *Hæc fecimus*: Theſe we once made; and veſſells of gold, with this other Letter; *Iſta facimus*: Theſe we now make. I ſay, that it is a matter of much importance, (and I purpoſly forbeare to ſpeake ſo much as I know in this point) for the conſeruation of Kingdomes. As alſo how fit it is, that their Maieſties, both in regard of that reſpect which is due vnto Kings, and to the right and true adminiſtration of Iuſtice, ſhould by their ſeueritie, temper and moderate the exceſſe

of

of those, which cloath themselues with the Kings royall command, as with a garment, and beare themselues too insolently-high vpon the Title of their Offices; and vnder colour and zeale to the seruice of their Kings, will make themselues their Tutors, Masters of their libertie, Lords, ouer their vassalls, and sole Commanders of the whole Kingdome like vnto that great *Leuiathan*, or huge Whale in the Sea, of whom holy *Iob* saith; *Before his face, is penurie, and want,* Iob.40.18. *for he spoyleth and deuoureth all that stands in his way, and trusteth that he can draw vp* Iordan *into his Mouth.*

Chap. XV.

Whether it be fitting for Kings, to vse much the remitting of businesses?

Although in the former Chapter something hath beene spoken, which may tend to this Question, yet shall it be necessary to answer heere thereunto in a more direct and clearer manner. And howbeit the word, remitting, or referring, doth seeme to notifie the care and poruidence, which a Prince oweth vnto businesses, certaine it is, that it shall well beseeme him, sometimes so to doe. For, amongst many other the miseries of humane nature, this is one, that it's forces, as well internall, as externall, as well of the Soule, as of the body are much limited, and restrained, and haue much need of many helpes. Wherefore I say, that Kings not being able (as they are not) to attend of themselues so many businesses as howerly occurre, nor to comprehend so great variety and difference of things, they ought to remit some, nay many of

of them, to persons deputed for their ease, and discharge of their Consciences. Let a King examine those businesses, which are fit to be reserued for himselfe. And those that he cannot, let him remit them vnto others, because of himselfe he is not able to dispatch all of them.

And in fauour of this Doctrine, we haue *Iethro's* Counsaile to his sonne in Law *Moses*. Who seeing him so ouer-imployed in the businesses of his people to his intollerable trouble, said vnto him; *Stulto labore consumeris, elige tibi viros, &c. Thou wearyest thy selfe greatly, and this people that is with thee, prouide thee men, &c.* I needе not repeate all vnto you, hauing spoken thereof largely heeretofore. I shall now therefore represent vnto you, That there are two kinds of *Remitting*. Exod. 18. 18.

The one for to vnloade himselfe of that charge and trouble, that he may liue himselfe at ease, and out of his authoritie lay the burthen vpon others, and command them to end such or such a businesse. Which is now too commonly vsed and practised. For euery one, as much as in him lyes, striues to be superiour in this kind; Taking that to himselfe which is most pleasing, and easiest for him, and remitting the hardest and harshest to other mens hands, And hence it hapneth, that from the first remitting the King makes, your poore *Negociants*, like so many Tennis-balls are tost from one to another. Nay, their fortune is farre worse; for the Ball which is racketed by the one Player, the other with great nimblenesse, and care, runnes forth to receiue it; But the poore *Negociant*, who in these Remitments, serues in steed of the Ball, they doe not onely not receiue him readily, but shut the doore vpon him, obliging him to solicite his entrance, one while by fauour, another while by gifts. And although this be too vsuall a practise in all Tribunalls; and with all Iudges, and vpon all differences of businesses, yet is it there most practised, where matters of goods, and Titles

Titles of Lands are treated, wherein the Pretenders doe not only sweate and take a great deale of paines, but are forced to pay as much for the dispatch of 10000. *Maravedis*, as if they were so many Ducats. And this may be confirmed with the example of a poore honest widow, who (as it is well known) spent much time, and that little mony which she had, in Negociating the dispatch of a small debt. And when, after a long and tedious suite, she had at last got an order against her Aduersarie, yet was she neuer the neerer getting of her money, for that it was ordred in Court, that shee should be payd out of such Rents, which vpon some pre-morgage, or some other cunning Conueiance, could not be recouered. These remittings, I doe not finde how they can be defended, or salued in the Sacred Scripture. But there are many reasons for the condemning of them, and for the obliging of Kings to referre them.

The other kinde of remitting, is; When either the order and qualitie of the businesse, or the lawfull Impediment of him that remitteth, doth so require it. For which we haue our Sauiour Christs warrant in that admirable Conuersion of the blessed Apostle *S. Paul*. For albeit he himselfe, by his powerfull hand threw him downe from of his horse, and made him so farre forth to yeeld himselfe his, that he vttered these wordes so full of submission; *Domine,* Act. 9. 6. *quid me vis facere? Lord, what wilt thou, that I doe?* Yet did he not then giue him a present absolute Dispatch, but remitted him ouer to another Disciple, which was named *Ananias*. It being held fit it should be so for those reasons which are rendred by the Saints, and holy Fathers. The Act. 10. 5. like course hee tooke with *Cornelius* the Centurion in that great businesse of his Saluation, putting him ouer to Luk. 17. 12. S. *Peter*. And when he saw the Petition of those ten Lepers, who besought him, that he would make them whole; how beit he granted them their request for the recouery of their health,

health, yet did he remit them ouer to the Prieſts, and Commanded them to preſent themſelues before them, becauſe in thoſe kinde of infirmities, they were to be Arbitrary Iudges, what was to be done in that caſe. And to the Diſciples of *Iohn Baptiſt* which he ſent vnto him, when he was in priſon, to the end that they might informe themſelues who he was, and whether it was he that ſhould come, or were to looke for another? He remitted them backe to their Maſter with this Anſwer; *Ite, renunciate Ioanni, quæ audiſtis, & vidiſtis: Goe and ſhew* Iohn *what things yee heare and ſee.* As if he ſhould haue ſaid, For as much as *Iohn* is my Voice, by him is the truth to be declared, which you ſeeke after touching the Diuinitie of my Perſon. All theſe Remittings were plaine, and diſpatched without reply; And thoſe doubtleſſe condemned, which are now daily vſed, paſſing things ouer from one to another, as if men were to deale with children, who asking a companie of them, that are playing together; Is your Mother at home? All make anſwer; This boy can tell you, or that other boy can tell you. So that many mens liues are ended, before their buſineſſes can be ended. Their ſuites growing older then themſelues; waſting both their wealth, and their perſons to no purpoſe.

Leuit. 13.

Mar. 11. 4.

It is recounted in the Acts of the Apoſtles; That they being ſo buſily imployed in the Preaching of the Goſpell that they could not ioyntly with it attend thoſe workes of Charitie, and Almes-deedes, which were exerciſed in the Primitiue Church, by feeding thoſe that were conuerted, they did remit the care thereof to ſeuen Deacons choſen out from amongſt them all for that Miniſtrie. And heere is to be conſidered a point of Doctrine of great importance. That the Apoſtles (as there it is mentioned) albeit they ſaw what a great charge they had, and how much trouble with daily Preaching, and continuall Praying, they did neither omit, nor remit this buſineſſe, but were wonderfull

Act. 6. 2.

derfull carefull, that those to whom this care was remitted, should be persons of great approbation, and fulfilled with the Holy Ghost, and with wisdome, as were S. *Steuen*, and others, which were elected, and ioyned in Commission with him. *Considerate ergo fratres, viros ex vobis boni testimonij Septem, plenos Spiritu Sancto, & sapientia, quos constituamus super hoc opus, &c.* Wherefore brethren, Looke you out among you seuen men of honest report, and full of the Holy Ghost, and of wisdome, which we appoint to this businesse. Which is a Lesson for Kings, that when they vnderstand, that the persons, to whom they vse to remit businesses, are not such as they ought to be, either for their want of wisdome, or experience in those things, or that their minde is not cleare and free from passion, & couetousnesse, they in no manner of wise discharge their Consciences in making such remitments and references, but ought rather to reserue the dispatch therof vnto themselues, or to remit them to such Ministers, that are able to giue good satisfaction therein, and of whose goodnesse, and sufficiencie, the world rendreth publicke Testimony. In a word, I am of opinion, that to remit businesses, is a matter of necessity, in regard of the shortnesse of our vnderstanding, which is imbroiled and mightily hindred with this multiplicitie of affayres, and oftentimes choaked and stifled, and made defectiue in those matters, that are most necessary. And as for our bodily strength, the force thereof is so small, and so weake, that we had neede to preserue the same, by easing it of that burthen, which is too heauy for it to beare. Yet withall there must a great care be had, that these remitments, be not made meerely, that the King might liue at ease, and be idle, but because weighty businesses, and such as haue neede of new Examination, and new diligencies, doe require it; or because the King (as already hath beene sayd) may haue some lawfull impediment. Let Kings haue recourse vnto God, and he will illighten them, and their faces shall not suffer confusion, nor their Kingdomes see alterations, ruines,

Psal. 2. 10.

ruines, nor destructions. *Erudimini, qui iudicatis terram: Be wise therefore yee Kings; be learned, yee Iudges of the earth.*

CHAP. XVI.

Of the Sence of the sight; That is: Of those busines, which Kings ought to reserue for their own view, and dispatch with their owne hands.

Aristotle saith that the soule is, *Quod ad modum omnia*, in a manner all things, in regard of the Vnderstanding, which in it comprehendeth all whatsoeuer. And the same may likewise be said of the sence of the sight, wherin is cyphred the greatnesse of the Vniuerse, for therein is inclosed all whatsoeuer is visible in the world, as the Heauens, the Earth, Elements, Birdes, Plants, Beastes, &c. And all that (be it more, or lesse) enters into our Soule by this doore. It is the most principal part of the head, the most artificiall, & the most excellent, and most precious of all other the Sences; because it's action is more liuely and spirit-full, and giues vs more to know and vnderstand the differences of things. By the eyes, are manifested a great part of the affections, and passions of the Minde. *In oculis animus inhabitat*: The mindes habitation (saith *Pliny*) is in the eyes. In them is seated Clemencie, Mercy, Anger, Hatred, Loue, Sorow, Ioy, and the like. *Ex visu, cognoscitur vir*: We may know a man by his lookes. As whether he be wise, or foolish; simple, or malitious; &c. These, are those windowes, by which the light entreth into the Vnderstanding; and which shew the good, or bad disposition both of body, and Soule. And there are not some wanting,

Arist. 3. de anim. Text. 37. & 13. & D. Tho. Vniuersæ creaturæ homo est præstantissimus vt inter membra oculus.

D. Chrys. in Hom. 15. in Ioan

Plin. lib. 11. c. 31. Eccl. 19. 26.

wanting, who affirme, that they are the first, which God, and Nature delineate and paint forth in that tender paste and soft dough of the Creature, as being the most principall, the most beautifull, and the most delicate. And therefore that Diuine *Artizan*, did place a greater gard about that for it's safetie, then about all the rest. And therfore *Aristotle* saith; That we make more reckoning of this sence, then of all the other. It's Site, or place, which is the higheſt and most eminent in the head, doth declare it's greater dignitie, and is in man, as is the Sunne, and Moone, in the world. *Ambr lib. 6. Exam.* *Quod sol, & luna in Cælo, hoc sunt oculi in homine* (saith S. *Ambrose*). The vse of the sight is two-fold. One materiall, and grosse, which only attendeth things, as they thus materially represent themselues, without making any farther discourse, or Consideration; And this kind of seeing is common to all creatures both rationall, and irrationall, indewed with or without reason.

The other is more eleuated, and more spirituall, and flies a higher pitch, as when it discernes things with Aduice, and discourse, and when it perceiues what that is, that it sees, and this appertaineth onely vnto Man. But in Kings, and those that are good Gouernours, the consideration thereof must extend it selfe a great deale farther; As to treate of the remedy, which those things require, and stand in neede of, which they haue seene. But not like those Kings, that visited holy *Iob*, who although they saw him, and were seuen dayes with him, yet did they not see, what they saw; My meaning is, That albeit they did see the great affliction, and extreme miserie, wherein poore *Iob* was, their eyes passed it slightly ouer, they did not dwell vpon it, nor tooke any course to giue him remedie. And when this is not done, their seeing, is no seeing, but are like vnto those spoken of by the *Psalmist*; *That haue eyes, and see not*, Dull Idolls. To this purpose, there is a prety place in the first of the *Machabees*, where, after the Author hath made report, of the

the great wickednesse, and Tyrannies, which that accursed King *Antiochus*, and his Ministers exercised in Ierusalem, and in other Cities and Townes of the Kingdome of *Iudea*, of that great Captaine *Mattathias*, and his fiue Sonnes, hee speaketh thus, *Hi vederunt mala, quæ fiebant in populo Iuda, & in Ierusalem* which the vulgar renders thus, Now when they saw the blasphemies, which were committed in *Iuda* and *Ierusalem*. These (saith he) saw the euills, that were committed in *Ierusalem*; And my thinkes here must the question be asked, Why all they of that Common-wealth, suffering so many oppressions, and so many afflictions, in their Houses, in their own Persons, & those of their children, onely *Mattathias*, and his Sonnes, are here said to haue seene these euills, and these blasphemies? The answer hereunto, makes notably for our purpose, because it expresseth that, which we go inforcing, To wit, That to see businesses, is truely and properly, to vnderstand them, and to put our helping hand vnto them. And because *Mattathias*, and his Sonnes, were the onely men that were sensible of the hard measure they receiued, and the first that rose vp, and opposed themselues against the furie of the Tyrant, for the remedying their so many and so great Calamities, that sacred Historian saith, That they onely had eyes, and saw the affliction of Gods people. This kinde of sight best be fitteth Kings, as they are heads of their Kingdomes and Common-wealthes, and it is likewise necessary, that they haue their sight, Large, Cleare, and Sharpe, that they may reach to see euen those things, that are most secret, and most remote, as doth that princely birde the Eagle, which houering aloft in the ayre descryes the fishes, that are in the deepe: Or be like vnto that Maiesticall Creature the Lyon, who both waking, and sleeping, keepes his eyes open. The Holy Ghost saith; That a wise man hath his eyes in his head. *Sapientis oculi in capite eius.* And it seemeth, that by Contrapositions, he would giue vs thereby to vnderstand, that a foole hath his eyes in

1. Mac. 2. 6.

Eccl. 2. 14.

his feete. Which as they discouer but little, so are they lyable to a thousand offences, and deceits. But the wise man beholds from high and as from a watch-Tower discouers things a farre off; and is thereby better able to take notice of them, and more punctually to comply with his obligation to the state, and to that which neede shall require in those accidents that may occurre. This is that sight, which (as before hath beene said) befitteth Kings, for that they are the Heads of their Common-wealths, and therefore are to reserue for their own view those the more weighty businesses of their subiects, there being a great deale of reason, that they should see them (as they say) with their owne eyes. For this end, are those Visitations ordayned, and those Entrances in State, which Kings are wont to make into the Cities, and Prouinces of their Kingdomes. When the arrogant and vaine presumption of men grew to that passe, that for to celebrate their name, they went about to build that proud Tower of *Babel*, with intent to touch euen heauen it selfe with the top thereof, and to liue free from all feare of a second flood, that sacred Historie tells vs; *Descendit autem Dominus vt videret Ciuitatem, & Turrim, quam ædificauerint filij Adam*: That the Lord came downe to see the Citie and tower, which the sonnes of men builded. God came down himself to see this their so great insolencie that he might punish them accordingly, as he did with such a confusion of languages, that one could not vnderstand another, and were amongst themselues, as so many strangers, without being able to communicate and conuerse together; so that they were driuen to diuide themselues into different Countries, and were scattred from thence vpon all the earth. And in the said Historie of *Genesis*, we read, that when that abhominable filthines of the Sodomites, grew to that highth of impudencie, that it prouoked God vnto Wrath, and in a manner bound him to consume them with fire from heauen, he vttered vnto *Abraham* these words worthy the noting;

Gen. 11. 5.

noting: *Clamor Sodomorum & Gomorrhæorum multiplicatus* Gen. 18. 20.
est, & peccatum eorum aggrauatum est nimis. Descendam,
& videbo, vtrum clamorem, qui venit ad me, opere comple-
uerint, an non est ita, vt sciam: Because the cry of *Sodome* and *Gomorrha* is great, and because their sinne is exceeding grieuous, I will goe downe now and see, whether they haue done altogether according to the cry, which is come vnto me; And if not, that I may know. As if he should haue sayd; Howbeit the abomination of these accursed Sodomites and Gomorrheans, hath so farre increased, that it doth cry aloud vnto me for vengeance and chastisement, and hath pierced the heauens, and come vnto mine eares, yet notwithstanding, (because it is a thing that concernes a whole Common-wealth, and a busines of that weight, as to deserue exemplary punishment,) I will goe downe and see, whether it be so or no, as the report goes of it. Though most certaine it is, that God hath no need to come downe from heauen, to take a particular viewe of the things of this world, for he is present in all places, here, & there, and euery where, he filleth all, seeth all, and with his infinite wisedome comprehendeth all. But the Scripture speakes in this kinde of language, that it may accommodate it self to the stile and capacitie of men, for to instruct Kings in this place, that graue and weighty businesses, they are not to transferre them ouer vnto others, but of, and by themselues to see and looke vnto them, nor ought they too be to facile in giuing credit to fame, and report (especially of the vulgar) without hauing first fully informed himselfe thereof, and that by themselues they should be able to dis-deceiue themselues, and to see, and consider things with attention, and with a desire to search out the truth, and to rectifie what is amisse.

In the Kingdomes of *Castile*, there is a very commendable custome and of great authoritie, and Maiestie, worthy those most prudent Kings which first ordeyned it. And this is that *Consulta*, which euery friday towards the Euening,

the President of *Castile* makes with those of his Maiesties Councell Royall, wherein an Account is giuen vnto his Maiestie of all the weightiest businesses, and wherein the opinion and the authoritie Royall is necessarie. And this is not without example in the sacred Scripture. For in the first chapter of *Deut.* it is written; That when that great Law-giuer *Moses* had named for good and quicke dispatch such Counsellours (as before specified) giuing them in charge what they were to keepe and obserue, and how to administer Iustice with equalitie, and without exception of persons, he told them; *Quod si difficile vobis visum aliquid*
Deut. 1. 17. *fuerit, referte ad me & ego audiam.* The cause that is too hard for you, bring vnto me, and I will heare it, You shall consult with me in that case, that I may heare it, and take such course therein as is fitting. And if to this so commendable a *Consulta* of euery Friday weekely, there should bee added another Meeting some certaine dayes in the yeare, to the end that the President, and those of the Kings *Camara*, should carry with them the *Consulta* of the Offices, and should treate and conferre thereof by word of mouth with our Lord the King, it would be one of the most important things (in the iudgement and opinion of many graue men, whom I haue consulted with in this particular) that could be ordained for the good of these Kingdomes. Whereby many of those inconueniences would be auoyded, which wise and Christian Counsellours haue found out by many yeares experience. And none of the meanest (amongst the rest) is the remitting by writing so weightie and important a thing, as the Election of Officers, recommending the same to a dead Letter, which can make no replie. And that paper, which passeth through so many hands, cannot come so clean, as it should but be sullyed, especially if it come to such hands as are not clean, but corrupted with gifts, & presents. And because this Course is taken, the loue & respect due to their Kings is lost, who like Creatures to their Creator, ought to acknowledge all that they haue from his hands. Wheras now, they giue this respect

respect vnto his Maiesties Ministers, with whom they haue held correspondency, as knowing that their Prouision must solely passe through their hands, and that their good or bad dispatch consistes in them, or in a lesse full, or more effectuall Relation, inclosed in the paper of their *Consulta*. Which cannot be carryed thus, when the President, and those of the *Camera* shall haue propounded the same, and deliuered their opinions in the presence of their King. And questionlesse, they that by this meanes should be prouided for, would esteeme in more, and treat with more punctuality and truth, the things appertaining to his Office, considering that the King himselfe taketh particular knowledge of them. For (as we said before) it is very meete and conuenient, that Kings should know, and communicate with, if not all, yet at least those, who are to be placed in your greater kinde of Offices, and dignities. And amongst all other businesses, this is that, which with most reason doth require the Kings eyes and presence, his remembrance, and mature Counsaile; For such are the Citizens as are their Gouernours, and the Parishioners, as their *Pastors*. And though this perhaps cannot be performed so punctually and precisely, as were to be wished, yet at least it will be needfull, that those persons, of whom they take testimonie, and receiue information in so graue and weighty a busines, should be of that prudence, learning, and authoritie, and so beyond all exception, that the world, (which is apt to take exceptions) may be perswaded, that the Election could not but be passing good, being that it past through such iudicious mens hands. For, whatsoeuer shall come forth decreed by them, it is not fitting, that it should bee subiect to their censures, who either haue not the said qualities, or are much inferiour in them, or faile in their zeale to God, or their Loyaltie and Loue, to their King being *Narcissus*-like, inamoured with their owne shadow, and led away with the blindnesse of their passion. Woe be vnto that Common-wealth, King, and Kingdome, where one out of

blindneſſe, or ſelfe willfull-neſſe, ſhall vndoe that, which o-ther men haue done with many, and thoſe the cleareſt eyes. For (as the Wiſe man ſaith) *Vnus ædificans, & vnus deſtruens, quid prodeſt illis, niſi labor?* When one buildeth, and another breaketh downe, what profit haue they then but labour?

Eccl. 34. 24.

CHAP. XVII.

Hee proſecuteth the ſame matter and ſhewes, how Kings ought to carry themſelues, towards thoſe, that finde themſelues aggrieued.

HAuing ſpoken of ſome Caſes, reſerued for Kings, and ſuch as require their ſight and preſence, it here now offers it ſelfe in this place, to know how a King ought to carry himſelfe towards thoſe that finde themſelues iniuryed and aggreiued. And in the opinion of vnderſtanding people, it ſeemeth, that nothing is more properly his, then to quit wrongs, and remooue iniuries. For, if we ſhall but conſider that firſt beginning which Kings had, that which the Ancient ſaid of them, and that which the holy Scripture teacheth vs, wee ſhall finde, that this Occupation is very properly theirs, and that this Care appertaines of right to their greatneſſe. That moſt wiſe King *Salomon*, in the fourth of *Eccleſiaſtes*, ſaith; That when he ſaw the teares of the Innocent, and the wrongs they receiued, and no body to helpe them, or to ſpeake ſo much as a good word for them, it ſeemed a thing more terrible vnto him, then to dye, or neuer to haue beene borne. *Vidi calumnias quæ ſub cælo geruntur, & lachrymas innocentium, & neminem Conſolatorum, neque poſſe reſiſtere eorum*

Eccl. 4. 1.

eorum violentia, cunctorum auxilio destitutos, & laudauit magis mortuos, quàm viuentes, & felitiorem utroque iudicauit, qui nec dum natus est. I turned and considered all the oppressions that are wrought vnder the sunne; And behold the teares of the oppressed, and none comforteth them; And loe the strength is of the hand of them, that oppresse them, and none comforteth them: Wherefore I praised the dead, which now are dead, aboue the liuing which are yet aliue; And I count him better then them both, which hath not yet beene. And not onely King *Salomon*, but euen God himselfe was so highly offended with those wrongs and oppressions, which the children of Israel suffred in Egypt, that he thought it a thing worthy his presence, and his comming downe from heauen to see the same with his own eyes. *Vidi afflictionem populi mei in Egypto, & clamorem eius audiui propter duritiem eorum, qui præsunt operibus et sciens dolorem eius, descendi, vt liberem eum.* I haue seene the trouble of my people, which are in Egypt, and haue heard their crie, because of their Taske-Masters; And for I know their sorrowes, therefore I am come downe to deliuer them, &c. Exod. 3. 7. 8. Teaching Kings, That in matter of grieuances, and oppression of the Innocent, they are not content to themselues, with remitting them ouer vnto others, but to looke thereunto themselues; And (if need were) to come from forth their princely pallaces, and to forgoe for a while their pleasures and their ease, till they haue reformed what is amisse. The first words the diuine Scripture storieth, which the first King, whom God chose for his people, said, were these, *Quid habet populus, quod plorat?* What ayleth this people, that they weepe? 1. Sam. 11. 5. Who no soner saw himselfe Crowned King, and put by Gods hand into the possession of that kingdom, but applying himselfe to that which he ought first of all to doe (as one of the maineſt points of his dutie) he hearkned vnto the cryes of the people, who were oppressed by the *Philistims*, and with great speede, and feruent zeale, did

roundly set himselfe to the redressing of that oppression. And I verily perswade my selfe, that all good Kings wou'd doe the like, if they should see their subiects ready to fall into their enemies hands, with whom they wage open warre. But from those more close and secret enemies, which are together with vs subiects, Citizens, neighbours, Countrymen and Ministers of the same Kings, and of whom there is held so much trust and confidence, who goes about to free the wronged? What reparation is there for receiued iniuries? Are they not much greater then those, that the *Philistims* offered to Gods people, and more remediesse? As for professed Enemies, against them we may make open resistance, and euery man, that is not vnnaturall, or a Traytour to his Country, will put to his helping hand, and seeke to repell force by force, & reuenge the wrongs that are done them. But for these our domestick enemies, these our home-borne foes, & feigned friends, who vnder the shew of friendship, and vnder cloake and colour of being the Kings Ministers, oppresse the poore, and such as haue little power to oppose their greatnesse, who shall be able to resist them? If he, that suffers, shall pretend to doe it, doth he not put himselfe in manifest danger of suffring much more? if not of loosing all that hee hath? And it is worthy your consideration, that in those words related in *Exodus*, it is not said, that God went down to see, and remedy the wrongs which that Tyrant king *Pharaoh* did vnto the children of *Israel*, but that which was offred them by his chiefe Ministers; *Propter duritiem eorum, qui præsunt.* For the hard-heartednesse, and cruelty of those, which were set in authoritie ouer them. As if he should haue said, The Affronts and Iniuries done by a Kings principall Officers, are not so easily remedyed, as those of particular men. They require a powerfull hand, they require Gods presence, and assistance, and will craue a Kings especiall care. For your Councells cannot doe it, nay are not able for to doe it of themselues alone, be they the greatest and the higheſt

higheſt in the Kingdom; be they neuer ſo zealous of Iuſtice, neuer ſuch true louers thereof, and neuer ſo deſirous to doe right. And the reaſon therof (in my poore opinion) is, for that in regard the burthen of ordinary buſineſſes is ſo great, that only they are not able to attend the quitting of thoſe *agrauios* and greiuances, with that ſpeedines and efficacie, as were needefull, but rather that they themſelues, without ſo much as once dreaming thereof, doe vſe to make them farre greater then otherwiſe they would bee, for want of time, and ſtrength of body, to cumply with ſo many and ſo great buſineſſes. And it oftentimes ſo commeth to paſſe, that thoſe that ſue for reliefe, in ſtead of being eaſed of their wrongs, receiue further wrong, either becauſe they cannot finde fit place and time to be heard, or becauſe being heard, they are ſoone forgot, or becauſe they that wrong them, finde meanes to couer their faultes. And if they cannot couer them, and ſo ſhould be lyable vnto puniſhment, yet they that lent them their hand to lift them vp to the place wherein they are, will likewiſe lend them a hand to defend their diſorders. And it hath beene already, and is yet daily to be ſeene, that a Iudge in Commiſſion, who for his wickedneſſe and euill dealing deſerued exceeding great chaſtiſement; yet, for that he hath his *Patron* and *Angel* of Guard (for in your greater Tribunalls, theſe are neuer wanting) the buſineſſe is huſht, and the party peccant neuer queſtioned. And becauſe he ſhall not be diſgraced, if the matter proue fowle againſt him, by putting him out of his place, he that tooke him into his protection, will intercede in his behalfe to haue him remoued from that Office, and preferred to a better; A caſe certainly worthy both puniſhment, and remedy, if there be any vpon earth. And if there be any helpe to be had, it muſt be by the ſight and preſence of the King, for without this, it is not to be hoped for.

The Courtes of Kings, (much more then other places) are full of humane reſpects, and theſe haue taken ſo great a head,

head and are growne ſo ſtrong, that in buſineſſes they ouer-throw that, which truth and iuſtice ought to vphold. And therefore my aduiſe vnto Kings is, that being they are men, that are or may be free (if they will themſelues) from theſe poore reſpectiue conſiderations, and are ſupreme Lords, and abſolute ſoueraignes in their kingdomes, they would be pleaſed, to diſ-agrauiate thoſe that are iniuryed, reſpecting onely wronged right, and oppreſſed Truth. But becauſe ſuch as are wronged, and finde themſelues agrieued, haue not that eaſie acceſſe and entrance into Princes Courtes, or to their perſons, either in regard of their great and weighty Imployments, or ſome other lawfull Impediments, it ſhall much importe, that in their Courtes, they ſhould haue ſome perſon, or perſons, of great zeale and approued vertue and prudence to whom thoſe that are agrieued ſhould haue recourſe. For many ſuffer much, that cannot come to be admitted to the ſight, or ſpeech of their King, whereas, if there ſhould be a perſon appointed for to heare their Complaints, they would cry out with open mouth for iuſtice, and ſhould be righted in their receiued wrongs. And that perſon, or perſons thus deputed by their Maieſties, hauing firſt well weighed and examined the reaſons of their Complaints, ſhould afterwards repreſent the ſame vnto their Kings, and giue them true information thereof, to the end that they may forthwith by expreſſe Command, put thereunto a ſpeedy and fitting remedie. And this (I aſſure you) would be a great bridle to reſtraine the inſufferable inſolencie, and Auarice of Princes Miniſters; Who (queſtionleſſe) would carry themſelues much more fairely and vprightly, when as they ſhall know, that their diſorders ſhall faithfully be repreſented. Whereas (on the contrarie) it is not to be imagined with what a bold, nay impudent daringnes they outface goodneſſe, when as they conceiue that of their kings, which was vttred by that vnwiſe and fooliſh Atheiſt; *In corde ſuo non eſt deus.* The foole hath ſaid in his heart, there is no God. Or that, which

Pſal. 14. 1.

thoſe

thoſe ignorant and troubleſome friends of *Iob*, breathed forth againſt God himſelfe; *Circa cardines cæli perambulat, nec noſtra conſiderat.* He walketh in the Circle of heauen, and the cloudes hide him, that he cannot ſee, and conſider the things vpon earth. Or which thoſe other wicked Villaines vented; *Non videbit dominus, neque intelliget Deus Iacob.* The Lord ſhall not ſee, neither will the God of *Iacob* regard it. So in like ſorte ſay theſe bad Miniſters, Tuſh this ſhall neuer come to our Kings knowledge, hee is taking his pleaſure in his gardens, he is thinking on his Hawking and Hunting, or ſome other ſports and paſtimes to recreate himſelfe withall; nor ſhall Tricks, and inuentions be wanting vnto vs to ſtop vp all the paſſages to his eares; but ſay open way ſhould be made, and that the King ſhould take notice of this, or that miſdemeanour, it ſhall be dawbd vp ſo handſomely, ſuch a faire varniſh ſet vpon it, and ſo ful of excuſes, that it will be all one, as if he had neuer heard of it, or any ſuch thing bin at all. Preſuming, that Kings, rather then they will be troubled with buſineſſes of clamour and noyſe, will (for their owne eaſe) ſlightly paſſe them ouer. Wherein, as they haue oftentimes found themſelues, ſo it is fit they ſhould ſtill, be deceiued. And truly to no man, can with better Title this Entrance be giuen, nor this golden key to the Kings Chamber be committed, then to him, who with the integritie and zeale of an *Elias*, ſhould trample and tread theſe Monſters vnder foote; and roundly and throughly to take this care to task, which (without al doubt) would be one of the gratefulleſt, and moſt acceptable ſeruices, which can be done vnto God both in matter of pietie, and of pitie. But what ſhall I ſay of the Kings happineſſe in this caſe? With nothing can he more ſecure his conſcience, then with this. As one who is bound, out of the duty of his place, to haue a watchfull eye ouer all his Miniſters, but more narrowly and neerely, to looke into the water of thoſe that are the great Ones; being likewiſe obliged graciouſly

Iob 22.14.

Pſal.94.7.

ously and patiently to heare those, that shall complaine of them, it not proceeding out of spleene and malice, but out of a desire, to iustifie the truth, to make good a good cause, and that the fault may be punished, with whom the fault is truly found. For, when the subiects iust Complaints are not heard, besides that his conscience is charged and clogg'd therewith, the Ministers themselues become thereby much more absolute, and more insolently Imperious; Insomuch that the subiect seeing, that they are neither heard, nor eased of their grieuances, they grow desperate. And what fruites despaire bring forth, I neede not tell kings, that know either men, or bookes. There is not in holy Scripture any one thing more often repeated, then the particular care which God hath of the oppressed. In the seuenty second *Psalme*, where the Greatnesses of King *Salomon* are set forth, but more particularly those magnificencies of that true King *Salomon*, *Iesus Christ*, whose figure he was, amongst other his Excellencies, for the which he ought to be much estemed, beloued, and adored of all the Kings of the earth, and serued by all the nations of the world, this which followeth is not the least. *Adorabunt eum omnes reges terræ, omnes gentes seruient ei, quia liberauit pauperem à potente, pauperem, cui non erat adiutor.* All Kings shall worship him, all nations shall serue him, For he shall deliuer the poore, when he cryeth; the needy also, and him that hath no helper. And in another place he makes the like repetition. *Ex vsuris, & iniquitate redimet animas eorum; Propter miseriam inopum, et gemitum pauperum, nunc exurgam dicit dominus.* Now for the oppression of the needy, and for the sighes of the poore, I will vp (sayth the Lord) and will set at libertie him, whom the wicked hath snared. And in the first Chap. of *Esay*, it seemeth that God doth proclaime a plenary Indulgence, and full *Iubile* vnto those Kings, and Gouernours, who apply themselues to the easing of the oppressed. *Subuenite oppresso, iudicate populo, defendite viduam, et venite,*

Psal. 72. 12.

Psal. 12. 5.

Esay. 1. 18.

venite arguite me, dicit dominus, si fuerint peccata vestra vt coccinum, quasi nix dealbabuntur, & si fuerint rubra quasi vermiculus, velut lana, alba erunt. Relieue the oppressed, iudge the fatherlesse, and defend the widowe, though your sinnes were as crymson, they shall be made white as snow: though they were red like skarlet, they shall be as wool, you see then, that all sinnes are forgiuen that King, that is a Louer of Iustice, and a friend vnto the poore and needy, that takes paines in relieuing the oppressed, and in defending the widowe, and protecting the distressed. They may stand with God in iudgement, & alleage for themselues his Iustice & his righteousnesse, who haue dealt iustly & vprightly with their subiects, and mantained the weake and needy, against those powerfull Tyrants, which seeke to swallow them vp, as your greater fishes doe the lesser. *Qui deuorant plebem meam, sicut escam panis.* Who eate vp my people, as they eate bread. Psal. 14. 4.

And howbeit Iustice ought to be one and the same both to poore, and rich, yet God doth more particularly recommend vnto their care and charge that of the poore. For (as it is in the *Prouerb.*) *Quiebra la soga por lo mas delgado.* Where the corde is slendrest there it breaketh soonest. For a powerfull man will defend himselfe by his power, and great men by their greatnesse; And would to God, that they had no more to backe them then a iust defence: for then the poore should not neede to stand in feare of them. But that is now to passeable in these times, which the Apostle Saint *Iames* found faule with in his. *Quod diuites per potentiam opprimunt vos, et ipsi trahunt vos ad iudicium:* That the rich oppresse the poore by tyrannie, and draw them before the iudgement-seates. Iam. 2. 6.

When Kings doe cumply with this their obligation, when they free the oppressed, and defend the wronged Orphane, and Widowe, God sends downe vpon them his light, his grace, and other extraordinary gifts, whereby they and their states, are conserued and maintayned: Whose ruine and perdition

perdition doth euermore succeede through the default of him that gouerneth: for if Kings would gouerne according vnto equitie and iustice, they and their kingdomes should be, as it were, in a manner perpetuall and immortall. For (as it is in the *Prouerbs of Salomon*) *Rex, qui iudicat in veritate pauperes, Thronus eius in æternum firmabitur*: A King, that iudgeth the poore in truth, his throne shall be established for euer. Whereas on the contrary, most certaine it is, that the King and kingdome haue but a short continuance, where the Iudges and Ministers are swayed by passion, and thereby the subiects abused. It is the saying of the holy Ghost; *Regnum à gente in gentem transfertur propter iniustitias, et iniurias, et contumelias, et dolos*: Because of vnrighteous dealing, and wrongs, and riches gotten by deceit, the Kingdome is transferred from one people to another. No one thing drawes such assured and apparent perils of warre vpon kingdomes, as the wrongs that are done to the poorer sort of subiects. *Clamor eorum, in aures domini Exercituum introiuit*: The cryes of them, haue entred into the eares of the Lord of Hosts. And there, before his Counsell of Warre, they present their Memorialls, and their Petitions, with such a loud language, and discomposed deliuery, that they pierce through his eares, when they call vpon him, saying; since thou art the Lord God of Hoasts, raise thou Armies both in Heauen and Earth, and reuenge thou those the open wrongs that are offred vnto vs. And these Petitions, commonly finde there such quicke dispatch, that presently hee nominateth Captaines, leuieth forces, and formeth a mightie Armie of enemies, to disturbe, and destroy that kingdome. And though some may conceiue, that the cause of those, and the like troubles, are the crosse Incounters of Kings and Princes amongst themselues, or the greedy desire of warre for spoyle and pillage, which pardoneth no manner of persons, yet in realtie of truth it is not so, but the wrongs of Ministers, exercised vpon the poore, the fatherlesse,

Prou. 29. 14.

Eccl. 10. 8.

Iam. 5. 4.

leſſe, and the widowe, are the occaſion, that huge and powerfull Hoſtes of enemies, in their reuenge, enter the gates of a Kingdome and make waſt and hauocke thereof. For this cauſe were the *Amalekites* captiuated, and put to the ſword, and for the ſame likewiſe the ſoldiers entred into *Iudea*, and ſackt it. Ioel

Whence we draw this cleare and concluſiue truth, that the beſt and the ſafeſt courſe to conſerue a kingdome, to gaine others, and to abound in riches, is; to vndoe wrongs done, not to diſſemble iniuries, to puniſh theefs and robberies, and to execute iuſtice towards all. *Iuſtitiam via bona, facere iuſtitiam.* The firſt ſtep to goodneſſe, is to doe Iuſtice. Prou 16.5. For without it, the foot that lets forward, falls backward, and a King hath not wherewithall to relye on his power, his forces, his wiſedome, and experience in gouernment, if he be defectiue in this. For kingdomes laſt no longer, then Iuſtice laſteth in them. And true it is, that there is no winde ſhut vp in the bowells of the earth, which cauſeth therein ſuch violent effects of Earth-quakes, as in thoſe kingdomes, which thinke themſelues ſureſt and firmeſt doe the complaints, and greiuous ſighes of the wronged poore. And therefore let none whatſoeuer, be they Kings, great Miniſters, or Counſellours of State, ſlightly reckon of the cries of the poore; For they referring their reuenge to God, they draw him downe from Heauen to right their quarrell. And the baſeſt, and moſt barbarous man in the world, when he ſees himſelfe wronged, and can finde none vpon earth to plaade his cauſe, or to doe him right, he preſently lifts vp his eyes vnto Heauen, and makes his addreſſe vnto God, aſſuring himſelfe that his helpe will come from thence. And it was well ſaid of a Wiſe man; That the wronged are like vnto thoſe that are ready to be drowned, who if they faſten vpon any thing, neuer let it goe: ſo theſe men, when they are in danger to be ſunke by being forcibly kept vnder water by the oppreſſours hand, lay faſt hold on complaints, cryes, ſighes.

sighes, and teares, as the last remedy allotted them by God; who saith: That he will heare the petitions, and receiue the Memorialls of the afflicted, which are written with teares.

Eccl. *Lacrymæ enim ascendunt vsque ad cælum.* For from the cheeke, they ascend vp to heauen. They fall downe the cheekes, till they fall to the ground, and from thence they mount vp as high as Heauen; for being water, they rise as much as they fall. And when God sees they haue reason on their side, and that they onely call vnto him for iustice, (it being so proper an Attribute vnto him) in the end he grants, and signes their request. Nor is it much, that he should shew them this fauour, his bowells being moued to compassion, in seeing his creatures in such extremities of affliction. Let Kings therefore beware and take heede, and their Ministers bethinke themselues; that in such a case, an Inundation of teares, is of more force, and more danger, then that of the swiftest Torrent vpon a mighty flood.

Chap. XVIII.

Of the sense of hearing; And of the Audiences, which Kings ought to giue.

PVrsuing still the Metaphore of the head, whereon hitherto we haue insisted, occasion is now offred vnto vs, to treat of the sense of Hearing, which hath some certaine excellencies aboue the rest. For thereby we come to vnderstand the hidden secrets of the heart, and the most inward thoughts of the Soule; which being clad and apparrelled with that out-side, and exterior part, the Voyce, and put vpon the Hearing of that person, with whom we talke and discourse, it knoweth that, which

which the vnderstanding of neither Men, nor Angels once is able to comprehend. And that which we haue spoken of the sence of the sight ought likewise to be said of this, For as far forth as is the perceiuing of a Voyce, or some other noyse, or sound by the hearing, so farre is it common as well to brutes beastes, as to Men. But it is proper only vnto Man, by hearing a significatiue voyce, to discourse thereof, and to vnderstand the inward conceipt of him that speaketh. And from hence will we draw, what ought to be heard by the Head of a Common-wealth: who is not onely to content himselfe with hearing the bare externall Voyce, but to heare it in such maner as the holy Scripture telleth vs, God heareth the voyces of those, which call vpon him in the time of their trouble, which is a vsuall and plaine kinde of Language in the Diuine Writt. And when it is sayd, that God heareth vs, it is ioyntly sayd, that he graunteth our petition; Whereof many Testimonies are found in the *Psalmes* of *Dauid*, and in diuerse other places. *Cùm inuocarem, exaudiuit me Deus iustitiæ meæ. Dominus exaudiet me, cum clamauero ad eum, &c.* The God of my righteousnesse heard me, when I called vpon him. And anone after. The Lord will heare, when I call vnto him. In the twentie one of *Genesis*, it is there twice repeated, that God heard the voyce of *Agars* childe, who was *Abrahams* bond-woman, which the mother had left all alone in the wildernesse of *Bersheba* vnder a certaine tree, and sitting downe ouer against him a farre off about a bow-shoote, that shee might not see him perish for want of water. *Dixit enim non videbo morientem puerum*; For shee said, I will not see the death of the childe. In the very next Verse following a double mention is made, That God heard the voyce of the childe: Which was in effect to say, that he did releiue him, and refresh his thirsty Soule, and granted that, which the infant, and his mother desired. And the Apostle Saint *Paul*, in that Epistle which hee wrote to the *Hebrewes* saith of our Saniour Christ, That,

Psal. 4. 1. ibi. ver. 4.

Gen. 21. 17.

Heb. 5.7. *Offerens preces ad deum cum clamore valido, et lachrymis, exauditus est pro sua reuerentia.* Offring vp prayers and supplications to God the father, with strong crying, and teares, he was also heard in that which he feared. Which was all one, as if he should haue said, That his father dispatcht him, and granted what he petitioned in that his prayer. So that in rigour of holy Writ, Gods Hearing, and Gods Granting, is all one. But in that common Commerce with men, and in that style, which Kings and their Ministers vse, it is not so. For they heare, and hearing answer, that they haue heard that, which they neuer meane to grant. And there is no worse Answer for a suitor, then to make this answer to his petition, That it hath beene heard. And it is very fit, that they should reply in this kinde of phrase: for thereby is giuen to be vnderstood the great obligation they haue to heare, as well those that haue iustice, as those that pretend to haue it, although they haue it not. In signification whereof, the two eares are placed on the two contrarie sides of the head, one opposite to the other, because affording one eare to the Plaintiffe, we must reserue the other for the defendant. And because God would haue it so, that Hearing should be the ordinary meanes for the receiuing of the diuine Light, and attaining to the knowledge of those supreme truthes, by so superexcellent and high a gift, as that of faith, *Quomodo credent ei, quem non crediderunt?* How shall they beleeue in him, of whom they haue not heard?) As also, that Kings may haue an intire light of humane Truthes, it is requisite, that they should lend a willing eare to those that craue Audience of them. For in this sense, of all other (saith Saint *Bernard*) Truth hath it's seate, and Mansion. *In auditu veritas*: Truth is in Hearing. And in example of this, hee alleageth that which passed betwixt good old *Isaac*, and his two sonnes *Esau*, and *Iacob*; who by reason of his olde age, failing very much in all the rest of his senses, that of his hearing continued still in it's full perfection:

Rom. 10.14.

Bern. in Cant. Ser. 28.

fection: The other deceiu'd him, and this onely told him the Truth. *Vox quidem vox Iacob, manus autem, manus sunt Esau.* The voyce is *Iacobs* voyce, but the hands are the hands of *Esau*. Wherein he was out. In Gods Schoole, where faith isprofessed, great reckoning is made of Hearing; *Quia fides, ex auditu.* Because faith comes by hearing. For a man may heare, and beeue, though he cannot see. But in the Schoole of the world, we must haue all these (and all is little inough) We must see, heare, and beleeue: And when Kings haue both seene, and heard, and throughly informed themselues of the whole State of the busines, that they may not be deceiued in their iudgement, then let them presently proceede to touch it (as we say) with the hand, to fall roundly to worke, and in that maner and forme, as shall seeme most fitting, to finish, and make an end of it. *Dominus de cœlo in terram aspexit, vt audiret gemitum compeditorum &c.* The Lord looked downe from the height of his Sanctuary. Out of the Heauen, did the Lord behold the earth, that he might heare the mourning of the prisoner, and deliuer the children of death. This looking downe of the Lord from the highest Heauens, and from the throne of his glory, vpon the earth, to heare the grieuous groanings, and pitifull complaints of poore wretched creatures, which call and cry vnto him for iustice, should (my thinkes) be an admirable good lesson for Kings, that they should loose somewhat of their sportes and recreations, and of that which delighteth the eye and the eare, to bestow them both on those, who humbly petition him, that he will be pleased to both see, and heare their cause. Of *Philip* King of *Macedon* (though some put it vpon *Demetrius*) it is reported by *Plutarke* in his life, that going one day abroad to take his pleasure and pastime, an olde woman came vnto him, & besought him to heare her, and to do her Iustice. But he excusing himselfe, and telling her, he was not now at leysure to heare her, shee made answer. *Proinde, nec Rex quidem esse velis!* Sir, if you be not at leysure to heare Gen. 27. 22. Rom. 10 17. Psal 102. 19, 20.

your subiects, & will not giue them leaue to speake vnto you, leaue to be king; for there is no reason he should be a king, that cannot finde a time to cumply with his dutie. Conuinced with this reason, without any more adoe, he presently gaue a gracious Audience not onely to her, but many moe besides. For Kings, which doe not heare, by consequence do not vnderstand; And not vnderstanding they cannot gouerne; And not gouerning, they neither are, nor can be Kings. The *Cretons*, painted their God *Iupiter* without eares, because he was that supreme king, that gaue lawes, and iudged all. And therefore ought to cary an equall eare, & indifferently to heare all parties after one and the same selfe manner. Other some, did allow him eares, but, so placed them withall, that they might heare those least, that were behinde him; Which was held a fault in their God; as likewise it is in Kings, not to heare any but those that stand before them, or side by side are stil weighting at their elbow. Kings should heare as many as they possibly can, and (which is the onely comfort of suitors) in that gratious and pleasing kinde of maner that no man should depart discontented from their feete, being a maine fundamentall cause, to make all men to loue, reuerence, and esteeme them; and likewise to oblige Princes, to lend the more willing and patient eare to their subiects. And of this subiect, *Pliny*, in commendation of his Emperour *Traiane*, tells vs, that amidst so many cares of so great an Empire as his was, he spent a great part of the day in giuing Audience, and with such stilnes and quietnes, as if he had beene idle, or had nothing to doe. And that he knowing the content that his subiects tooke in their often seeing of him, and speaking with him; so much the more liberally, and longer, he afforded them occasion and place, for to inioy this their content. For nothing doth so much please, and satisfie the heart of a Prince, as to conceiue, that he is beloued, and generally well affected of all his subiects. Let a King then, (this course being taken) perswade himselfe,

himselfe, that his people loueth him, and desireth to see him, and to speake dayly (if it were possible) with him. And that they take a great deale of comfort, that they haue seene him, and he heard them. And that of two things which all desire, To wit; To be heard, and relieued; The first, intertaines, and comfortes the suitor; and makes him, with a cheerefull minde, to hope well of the second. Let him heare, though it be but as he passes by from place to place, and let him not let any day passe, without giuing ordinary Audience at a set hower, and for a set time. And in case any shall require a more particular and priuate Audience, a gods name, let him grant it them; For euery one of these (to conceiue the worst) cannot deceiue him aboue once; And it is to be supposed, that they will not be so vnciuill, or so foolishly ingrosse, as to craue the Kings priuate eare, but in a case of necessitie, or where there is some especiall cause, or extraordinary reason for it. And I farther affirme, that Audience being giuen in this maner, things will be carryed more smoothly, and with more ease on either part; For that which breakes down your *Damn's* in your riuers, is the detention of the water. And the detayning of a Subiect from the presence & speech of his King, is that which doth dishearten, and deiect the mindes of your negociants, and supplicants. And when they see, they so seldome haue Audience, and are put off from day to day, and that it costes them so deare before they can be heard, they will, while they may, make vse of that present occasion, and then they talke world without end, and neuer giue ouer, because they are afraid they shall neuer haue the like opportunitie againe. But when those suitors shall know that they shall haue ordinary hearing, on such dayes, and such a set houre, and for so long a time, they will content themselues, with giuing much lesse trouble to their owne tongues, and his Maiesties eares. In a word, no man will denie, but say with me, that it is iust and meete, That he, that is to rule, and remedy all, ought likewise to heare all and that

all men should know as much; for, for the good, and hope thereof, they principally obay, and loue their King. And besides, a great part of that concurse, and tedious trouble of *Negociants*, will by this meane, be put off. For, vnlesse it be in case of necessitie, or some extraordinary occasion, no man (I assure my selfe) will be so vnmanerly as to offer to weary and tire out his King. For it is naturally inbred in all, to feare and respect Greatnesse. And therefore will not cause molestation to so great a Maiestie but when they cannot finde any other meanes to negociate. In conclusion, facile Audience in Kings, is such a vertue, as doth supply (and that with a great deale of aduantage) the defect of many other vertues. And where there is no neede of that supply, it serues to giue a greater luster and perfection to the rest, the subiect, not hauing any other thing, that he more craueth from, or desireth in his King. And questionlesse, vse and custome, will make it more easie, though at first it may seeme some what troublesome vnto him. King *Antigonus*, who was father to the great *Demetrius*, was a proud, ambitious, couetous, cruell, and effeminate Prince, and yet notwithstanding all these vices, and other his weakenesses and infirmities, his subiects did beare with them, and did truly serue and obay him, because he did neuer refuse to giue them Audience, gaue them kinde and faire answeres, suffred himselfe to bee seene often of them, and did neuer shew to any man a frowning looke, or discontented Countenance.

This facile giuing of Audience, doth bring likewise with it another benefit not so well vnderstood perhaps, as it ought to be, by Kings and their fauourites. Which is; That thereby they receiue the priuate aduertisements of particular persons in such a conuenient time and season, as is fitting for them. For, in negociating, by retarding this Audience, either the occasion is ouerslipt, or he wearyed out, that should aduertise: And because the aduertiser, (as there is great reason for it) would be loath that another man should goe away

with

with the thankes and gratification which is due vnto him-selfe for his care and diligences vsed therein, he will negociate it by his owne, rather then anothers meanes, that he may not loose both his thankes, and his labour. And because many times this Aduertiser, either dare not or holdeth it not fit, to trust a paper therewith or other meanes eares, all this may easily be excused with a facile Audience. King *Assuerus*, by knowing in time the treason which was plotted against him, by *Bigthan* and *Teresh*, two of his Eunuches, which kept the doore, had his life thereby preserued. And *Publicola*, the *Roman Consull* saued his Country, by preuenting in time the conspiracie of *Tarquinius*, by giuing easie accesse and Audience to *Vindicius*, an ordinary seruing man, who bewrayed vnto him the treason of the *Aquilij* and *Vitellij*, together with *Brutus* his sonnes. And the like successe had *Pelopidas* amongst the *Grecians*, (as you may reade in *Plutarke*) where he much recommendeth in either of them, both *Publicola*, and *Pelopidas*, their kinde and courteous vsing of men, when they came to speak with them, and the easie and patient eare they had from them. Whereas on the contrary, diuerse Princes haue vterly ouerthrowen themselues and their kingdomes by their hardnesse and harshnesse in this kinde, and haue lost many a great and faire occasion, because they would not heare, and examine in time those aduertisements which were giuen them, & recommended to their better consideration. Last of all, admit that this should not be altogether so iust and conuenient a course as I haue here deliuered vnto you, yet notwithstanding, because all men wish & desire it, my thinks this one consideration, in all good reason of State should suffice, to haue it be held, to be both iust, and conuenient. For it is not possible that all both good and bad, should erre in this desire. And I dare be bold to say, that all doe hunger and thirst, cry and dye for this, except it be some few who may feather their nest by the contrary, whose thriuing, and increase of wealth doth ordinarily consist, in

Esther 2.11.

Plut. in vita Publicola.

clapping a lock on the kings eare, & barring the doore to his hearing, so that men can hardly & with a great deale of difficulty come to speak vnto him. And besides the foresayd benefits, by debarring men of easie accesse to the king, all requitall of their good seruice, either by gracious words, or deedes, is quite taken from them, which certainly is a reward so worthy the wearing, that euery one would willingly haue it for himself. And if kings do not know thus much, or that they are not told therof, it is by reason of that old mischefe which they suffer by not hearkening vnto truth, either in their Counsellours or those *Amici*, that are represented vnto them, or because those that are neere about his Maiestie & interessed in his fauour, will not let him be acquainted with any thing, saue what they know will please his humour, & giue him most cōtent, till the businesse fall breake out, & the errour (like an imposthume) beginns to grow ripe, and the wound (as we say) shewes it selfe; then and neuer till then, is the smart of it felt: Which is ill for the kingdom, & worse for the King. For, in these delicts and excesses, the King, (in the peoples conceit) shal be the only man in fault, & he that must pay for all. Dangerous is the State of Kings, dangerous the times, but more dangerous the remedy, & the non conueniencie for the now putting it in practise. In ordinary, and publick Audiences, let not Kings permit either Ministers, Counsellours, or Embassadors to enter, for it wil but make the Commons complaine, that that is taken away from them, which is theirs; And they on the other side, being principall persons, will mutter and grumble, thinking themselues wronged, and their worth vndervalewed, to haue all one Audience with the ordinary sorte of people. So that with one & the same Act, he discontents all of them. Let there be dayes, & houres, appointed for the one, & the other naturalls, & strangers, & let euery man know his set day, and houre. For this being without distinction, what doth it serue for, but multitude, and confusion? And to haue all of all sortes to assist there continually to heare and nourish

the Complaints of particular persons, and to make report thereof by Letters to their seuerall nations and Countries, and to put a Glosse vpon them, to shew their owne wit. And though this at the first sight, may seeme to be a thing of small importance, yet such a time may be taken, that it may proue a matter of great consequence.

CHAP. XIX.

He goes on with the same matter, Treating of the Audiences of Ministers, and Counsellours.

KIngs (saith *Xenophon*) haue many eares; For they heare by their owne, and by those of their Fauourites, Ministers, & Counsellours. And it is no more then they stand in neede of. For they must heare all, Great, and Small, Naturall, and Stranger, without acceptation of persons, these as well as those; and deny no man their eares, lest they giue them iust cause to grieue and complaine, that for them onely, there is neither King, Fauourite, nor Minister to haue accesse vnto. This *Rapsodye*, and multitude of eares, and the difference between the one and the other, King *Dauid* giues vs to vnderstand in that his Audience which he crau'd of God. *Domine, Exaudi orationem meam auribus percipe obsecrationem meam.* Psal. 143. 1. Heare my prayer (O Lord) bow downe thine eare, and hearken vnto my supplication. He saith, Heare me, O Lord; but how, or in what maner? With thine eares, I beseech thee. Tell me (thou holy king) why dost thou say with thine eares. Might not that phrase of speech beene spared? Or wouldst thou happely, that God should heare thee with his eyes, or his mouth? No certainly, But because it is a vsuall custome with Kings, that gouerne great Monarchies, who by reason of the varietie and multitude of businesses, cannot by themselues

ſelues giue eare vnto all, and informe themſelues of the truth, to remit part of them to others, that they may heare the Parties, and informing themſelues of the buſines, may ſend it afterwards to the *Conſulta* there to be debated. One comes with his Memoriall to the King; The King wills him to ſpeake vnto the Preſident, or to ſuch a Secretary, that he may inform. But *Dauid* here ſaith; Remit me not O Lord vnto any other, for remiſſions, are remiſſions, the very word telling vs, that to remit a buſines, is to make it remiſſe and ſlow, and that there is vſed therein ſo much remiſſion, that a mans life is oftentimes ended, before his buſines. *Auribus percipe*: Doe thou thy ſelfe heare me with thine owne eares, without remitting me to the hearing of others. But to heare all, and in all partes, without remiſſion to other mens eares, who can doe this ſaue onely God? And for my part, I am of opinion, that they alluded vnto this, who (as wee told you) painted their God without eares; for to giue vs thereby to vnderſtand, that it is peculiar onely vnto God to heare without eares, and to heare all, without ſtanding in neede of other *Oydes*, or *Oydores*; For ſuch a neceſſitie, were in God a defect. But in Kings it were a defect to doe otherwiſe; for they are not able to heare all of themſelues, and therfore muſt of force make vſe of other mens eares. And therefore, as Nature, in Mans body hath diſpoſed different Members, neceſſary for it's proper conſeruation, as the eyes to ſee, the eares to heare, the tongue to talke, the hands to worke, the feete to walke, and all of them to aſſiſt to the Empire of the ſoule. So in like manner, this Myſticall body of the Common-wealth, whereof the King is the ſoule, and Head, muſt haue it's members, which are thoſe his Miniſters, which are Subiect to the Empire of their king, by whom hee diſpoſeth and executeth all that, which doth conuene for it's Gouernment, conſeruation, and augmentation. *Ariſtotle* renders the reaſon, why your huge and extraordinary tall men are but weake; And (as I take it) it is this:

Ariſt. de Anima.

this. The rationall Soule (saith he) is solely one, indiuisible, and of a limited vertue or power, and that it cannot attayne to that strength and force, as to giue vigour to those partes that are so farre distant and remote in a body, beyond measure, great. Now, if the body of this Monarchie, be so vaste, and exceeding great, and goes dayly increasing more and more, and that the Soule of the King which is to gouerne it, to animate it, and to giue it life, doth not increase, nor is multiplyed, nor augmented, at least in it's Ministers; How is it possible, that a King of himselfe alone should bee able to afford assistance to all? And to giue life, and being, to so many partes and members, that are set so far asunder? so great is the Office of a king, especially, if he be Master of many Kingdomes, that it is too great a Compasse, for one mans reach, and it is not one man alone, that can fill and occupie a whole Kingdome, and be present in all it's partes. And therefore of force he must make vse of other folkes helpe, and more particularly of those, which serue him instead of eares, such as are all your superiour Ministers of Counsells. These great Officers are called in the Spanish, *Oydores*, of *Oyr*, To heare; And the eares of the head, are called *Oydoras*, of their hearing; And your Iudges of the land, *Oydores*, Hearers of Mens causes. And as they are alike in name, so ought they likewise to be alike in Office, and to resemble the Originall, which it representeth, to the life, and it's true nature. Now, what Office is most proper and most naturall to the eares? you will all grant mee, that it is to heare alwayes, & neuer to be shut. Your eyes haue their *portcullis*, which they open, or shut, as they see cause. The mouth, hath the like; But the eares (like bountifull house keepers) haue their doores still open, and those leafes which they haue on either side are neuer shut, neuer so much as once wagge. And it is *Pliny's* obseruation, That onely man, of all other creatures hath his eares *immobile*, and with out any the least mouing. And *Horace*, holdes it an ill signe to wagg them;

Plin. natur. Hist. lib. 2.

them; but a worse, to stop them, *Sicut aspides surdæ, obturantes aures suas.* Like deafe adders, stopping their eares, that they may not heare. *sicut Aspides*, which are fierce and cruell creatures, and of whom it is sayd, that they are borne as deafe as a doore naile; and to this their naturall deafenes, they adde another that is artificiall, whereby they grow more deafe, by poysoning that part, and by winding their tayle close about their head, and sometimes laying the one eare close to the ground, and stopping the other with the tipp of their tayle, that they may stop and damme vp all the wayes, by which the Voyce of the Charmer might enter in. Vnto whom, *Dauid* compares those who being *Oydes del Rey*, the Kings eares, or (to speake in the vsuall phrase) *Oydores del Reyno*, the Kingdomes eares, doe shut and stop their eares, that they may not giue due and fitting Audience. Being naturally enemies to their owne profession, which is to heare; seeking out shiftes and tricks, that the Cryes, and Complaints of the poore may not come to their eares. There is not any cruelty comparable to this, to see a poore suitor trot vp and downe, a moneth or two together, labouring to haue Audience, and in stead of letting him in, hath the doore still shut against him. Nature would not allow doores to the eares, & yet these that are the Common-wealths eares, make profit of the doores of their houses, and command them to be kept shut: your suitors they come and goe, but my *sennior Oydor*, my Lord iudge, he that should haue his doores open, to giue open hearing to all Comers, is shut vp in his closet, and cannot be spoken withall vnder a couple of Capons. The *Tribunes* of the people of *Rome* (a Magistracie ordained for defending of the Communaltie) kept their gates still open, that men at all houres, might vpon all occasions, come and treat with them. If that young man, which was Saint *Pauls* sisters sonne, who heard the Conspiracie which the Iewes had plotted against him, and went to giue aduise thereof to the Magistrate, had

Psal. 58.5.

Act. 22.21.

had not found such easie entrance into the *Tribunes* house as he did, without doubt it had cost *Paul* his life. For fourty men, had taken a solemne oath to kill him as he came forth of prison to his Triall; and bound themselues with a curse, that they would neither eate, nor drinke, till they had killed him. Now, when this young man came to the Chiefe Captaine, and told him that he had something to say vnto him; The Text there saith, that the Captaine tooke him by the hand, and went a part with him alone, and asked him; What hast thou to shew to me, &c. With this facilenes, did the Ministers of that Heathen-people, giue Audience. How much more ought Christian Ministers to doe the like? The open doore, and the giuing of Audience in some open Hall, or in some outward Court, whereunto all are admitted to enter, would giue much content vnto many; but these close doores, and close Audience, to very few; which is purposely done for to pleasure their friends and seruants; for, from this their hard accesse, and difficile entrance, they likewise make their gaine, and are not ashamed now to demand that for a fee, which if they were well serued should be recompenced with a halter. And looke what I haue said of your *Oydores*, which are your Iudges in Chanceries, and other the chiefe Courtes of Iustice; I say the like of other Ministers, who though they haue not the same name, yet doe they serue as eares to their king. And then are their eares shut, and growne deafe, when they will not heare; making thereby his Maiestie to be found fault withall, & to receiue a hard censure from his subiects, when he is innocent & blameleſſe, and drawing a thousand other mischiefes vpon the Common-wealth. And it is a most shamefull thing, and worthy reprehension, & redresse, that when kings shall bee liberall in this kind, their Ministers should be so short & cutted, and that a man should be at more cost and trouble to get Audience of them, & to negociate a busines, then of the king himself. And the mischiefe of it is, that they procure and pre-

tend

tend now, as in former times, the greatest fauours the highest places, honors, & dignities, whilst in the mean while it is not thought vpon, nor taken into consideratiõ, that besides the offence which is done herein vnto God & the Common-wealth, that it is one of the most preiudiciall things in the world for the quiet peace of States, & the conseruation of kingdomes. And this was well vnderstood by *Absolon* the son of *Dauid*, & pretender to the Crowne of *Israel*. Who perceiuing, that the king, his father, through his great imployments in the Wars, could not so well attend his giuing Audience to all his subiects, and that they to whose charge & care it was committed, did not cumply therin with their obligation, he placed himselfe at the entrance of the Citie, whether the suitours repaired, and seeing how much they distasted it, that they had not that quicke Audience and dispatch as they expected, and desired, he insinuates himselfe into them, and speaking very kindly, and louingly vnto them, he tolde them. *Videntur mihi Sermones tui boni & iusti, sed non est qui te audiat constitutus à Rege*: Thy matters are good and righteous, but there is no man deputed of the King to heare thee. And this is it, that puts all out of frame, and order. O quoth he, that I were made Iudge in the land, that euery man which hath any matter of controuersie might come to me, that I might doe him Iustice, &c. And it followeth anon after in the Text, *Quod solicitabat corda virorum*: That by this means he stale away the hearts of the men of *Israel*. And that thereupon there shortly after insued a great rebellion, which put the king, & the kingdom in great ieopardie. Which may serue as a lesson for a good Minister, to teach them what they ought to do, & not to think, they do that which they ought, when for fashion sake, they giue short and crowding Audiences, where that which enters in at one eare, goes out (as they say) at another. But that so much time should be allowed for the hearing of them, as the qualitie off the busines shall require, without cutting those off, who go rendring their reasons

2 Sam. 15. 3.

sions; For he that hath not the patience to heare them, either he not vnderstandeth them, or is afraid to meddle with them.

With this therefore I conclude this, and the former discourse. That the first Office of a King, is, To heare all his subiects. And it being supposed, that he alone cannot doe it, it is fit he should haue *Oydores*, that should heare for him, and be his eares. And for that as by the eares of the head, there runns along a certaine secret nerue, by meanes whereof that which is heard, is presently conuaied to the braine, there to be registred, and consulted on by the Common sense. So these *Oydores*, ought to holde their secret *Consulta*, wherein they ought to make relation vnto the King of all that they haue heard. But let them weigh with all, what a short Cut it is from the eare to the braine, and the small stay that is made in this Iourney, or passage; to the end that by this natural course, which is so quicke, & speedy, they may see their errour, and perceiue what a great fault it is, to retarde their *Consultations*, to shew themselues thicke of hearing, & to haue their eares shut, or rather the *Oydores* themselues shut vp, and not to be spoken withall. Some would faine excuse these Audiences, with the impertinencies of those that craue them, which sometimes are very large and tedious and to as little purpose, as they are too too importune, & vnseasonable. But to this answere; That your high and eminent places, bring with them this trouble and charge; And (as the Apostle Saint *Paul* said) that it is a great token of prudence to know how to beare with the foolish, and to haue suffrance and patience with those, that are none of the wisest; *Libenter enim sufferetis insipientes, cum sitis ipsi sapientes*: For ye suffer fooles gladly because that ye are wise. 2 Cor. 11. 19.

And because he that is most wise, is most offended with ignorance, let him know, that he meriteth much in dissembling it, when it is fitting so to doe: for to say the truth (as the same Apostle affirmeth, Gods good and faithfull Ministers haue obligation, both to the Wise, and to the foolish.

Sapientibus

Rom.1.14. *Sapientibus & insipientibus debitor sum.* I am debtor both to the wise men, and to the vnwise. In the History of the Kings is set downe the dissimulation, wherewith the womon of *Tecoa* spake vnto King *Dauid*, and how importunate and tedious she was in telling her tale, and withall the Kings great patience in hearing her out, and his not being offended with the craft and cunning wherewith shee came vnto him; albeit the businesse was of that weight and moment, that his great Capraine *Ioab* durst not propound it vnto him.

Eccl.21.7. *Audi tacens, simul & quærens.* Giue eare, and be still; and when thou doubtest, aske. This Counsaile concerneth all, but more particularly Kings, and their Ministers, who are to heare, and be silent, to aske, and aske againe, till they haue fully informed themselues of the truth of the cale. For this is rather an honour, then dishonour vnto Kings, and

Prou.25.1. great Ministers. For, as the holy Ghost saith, *Gloria regum est in vestigare sermonem.* The Kings honour, is to search out a thing. Of him, that speaketh not, nor asketh a question of him that speaketh, it may be conceiued, that he doth not heare him; For these two sences are so neere of kinne, that (as the Philosopher obserueth) he that is borne dumbe, is also deafe; And not onely this, but likewise, that the speech being taken away, the hearing is lost with it. The cause whereof (according to *Lactantius*) is; for that the Organ, by which the Ayre is receiued, and wherewith the Voyce is formed, holds such Correspondencie with that which goes vnto the hearing, that if the first be shut or stopt, the exercise of the second is likewise hindred. Vpon information, and hearing, followeth in the next place, doing of Iustice, whereof we will treate in the Chapters following.

CHAP. XX.

CHAP. XX.

Of the Vertue of Iustice, the naturall sister, and Companion of Kings.

WE told you in the former Chapter that Hearing was the preciſeſt, and directeſt meanes for the doing of Iuſtice. And therefore falleth fitly out here to treate thereof. Your Ancient *Hieroglyphiſts*, as alſo your Saints, in their writings treating of this Vertue, compare it to a payre of weighes or ſcales with it's two ballances. And it ſeemeth, that Nature herſelfe made this *Ectypum*, or *Exemplar*, this portrayture or delineation, ſhadowing it out in euery one of vs, by giuing vs two eares, like vnto thoſe two balances, whoſe truth dependeth on the *Examen*, or *Æquilibrium*, that tongue or needle, which ſtands vppermoſt in the beame of the ballance; making my application in this maner, that the two eares, ſtanding like two ballances, on either ſide of the head, they haue their rule of truth from the ſupremeſt and higheſt part thereof, where ſtands the tongue or needle of reaſon, and the iudgement of thoſe things to their true weight, and meaſure, which are put into theſe Intellectaull ballances. To diſcourſe therefore of Iuſtice, is very eſſentiall to that which hath already beene treated touching a Common-wealth; For (as we told you in our very firſt Chapter) A Republick, or Common wealth, is a Congregation of many men, ſubiect to the ſame Lawes and Gouernment, which is not poſſible to bee conſerued, if Iuſtice therein ſhall be wanting. Which giues to euery one, that which is his owne, keepes men within

the bounds of good Order and Discipline, and bridles those by reason, which transported by their vnruly appetites, (like headstrong iades) would liue without it, admitting no curbe, no manner of controll, but following that Law of *Vinat, qui vincit*: Let him weare a Crowne, that winn's it. If Men would but obserue that first rule of the Law natural, consecrated by the mouth of our diuine Master Christ.

Math.7.12. *Quod tibi non vis, alteri ne feceris. Et quaecunque vultis vt faciant vobis homines, eadem facite illis*: Offer not that to another which thou wouldst not haue donne to thy selfe. And therefore, whatsoeuer ye would, that men should doe to you, euen so doe yee to them. There needed no other bullwarkes, or fortifications, to liue quietly and peaceably in the world. But after this same *Lolium* crept in, this Tare, of *Meum*, and *Tuum*; the *Cooler* (as *Chrysostome* calls it) of Charitie, the Seminarie of discordes and dissention, and the fountaine of all mischiefe; men found themselues obliged, nay inforced, to seeke out some such meanes, or maner of liuing, whereby euery one might quietly and peaceably inioy that, which he held to be his owne. And for this cause, they resolued to leade a ioynt life together, submitting themselues to one and the same Lawes, and subiecting themselues to one and the same King, who should likewise keepe and obserue them, and by iustice conserue nourish, and maintaine all other necessary vertues for the augmentation and conseruation of Common-wealths. And for this end, was giuen vnto Kings that great power, which they haue, holding in one hand the ballance of Iustice, and in the other, the sword of power. Which that naked weapon doth represent, which is borne before them, when they enter with authoritie and State into their Cities. And alluding either vnto this, or those ancient *Insignia* of your Iudges, the Apostle Saint *Paul* saith;

Rom.13.3: *Vis non timere potestatem? Bonum fac: nonne enim sine causa gladium portat*: Wilt thou be without feare of the power? Doe well. For the Magistrate beareth not

not the ſword for nought. *Herodotus* tells vs that, which *Cicero* deliuereth vnto vs. *Eadem fuit legum conſtituendarum cauſa, quæ regum.* That one and the ſelfe ſame, was the cauſe and Motiue, of ordaining Lawes, and Creating Kings. Whence it followeth, that there neither can be any Common-wealth without Iuſtice, nor any one that can deſerue to be a King, vnleſſe he maintaine and conſerue it. And though he may ſeeme to be a King, yet in realitie of truth he is not. Becauſe he wants that principall attribute, that ſhould make him be ſo; As a painted man, which is no man, cannot properly be ſaid to be a Man. The holy Scripture, ſtyles thoſe Hypocrites, which doe not adminiſter Iuſtice, for they haue no more in them of Kings, then the apparent, or outward ſhew, as the Scepter and the Crowne, and other their regall roabes, and ornaments. And it is worthy your conſideration, and it is no more then what their holy Doctors and learned Interpreters of diuine Letters haue obſerued; That a good King, and Iuſtice, are brothers and ſiſters, and ſo neerely twinn'd that you can ſcarce make mention of the one, without the other. The Prophet *Eſay*, repreſenting the feruent deſire of all the world, and the voyces and cryes of the Patriarkes, who with ſuch inſtance and earneſtneſſe did call for the comming of the Sonne of God, ſaith; *Rorate cæli deſuper, & nubes pluant iuſtum, & iuſtitia oriatur ſimul*: Ye heauens, ſend the deaw from aboue, and let the cloudes drop downe righteouſneſſe, let the earth open, and let ſaluation and Iuſtice growe forth, let it bring them forth together. And in another place, as if God did anſwer theſe the deſires of the Iuſt, he ſayth; *Ecce dies veniunt, dicit dominus, & ſuſcitabo Dauid germen iuſtum & regnabit Rex, & Sapiens erit, & faciet iudicium, et iuſtitiam in terra*, Behold, the dayes come (ſaith the Lord) that I will raiſe vnto *Dauid*, a righteous branch, and a King ſhall raigne, and proſper, and ſhall execute iudgement, and Iuſtice in the earth. And in the third booke of the Kings, God

Cicero.

Eſay. 45.8.

Ierem. 23.5.

3 King. 3.

being willing to grace and autorize the person of *Salomon*, who was the Type & figure of the true King of Kings, our Saui our Iesus Christ, had no soner the Crowne set on his head, & the possession of the Kingdom settled vpon him, bu there was presently offred and put into his hands a great occasion for to shew his prudence and wisedome, and his great nobleness and courage for to do iustice. The Case was a common and knowen Case; it was betwixt two women, that were friends and Companions, who leading a lewd and dishoneſt life, were deliuered or brought to bed both at one time, and sleeping together in one bed, the one of them being oppressed with a heauie sleepe, ouer-layd her childe, and when she awaked, shee found it to be dead. And at the same instant, without being felt, or perceiued by her Companion, she puts me the dead childe by her, and tooke the liuing childe to her selfe But this theft could not be so couered, for all her cunning carriage, but that the other knew, that the dead childe which was layd by her side, was not hers, but the liuing. The other with a great deale of impudencie, and dissimulation deny de it. And because they could not agree vpon the busines, they resolued to goe to King *Salomon* before whom the busines was continued with the like stiffenesse, and obstinate contestation, giuing each other the Eye, and other the like bold and vnciuill speeches as is vsuall with such kinde of women. The King, finding no more proofe nor reason of credit in the one, then the other, commanded a caruing Knife to be brought into the open Courte, & that diuiding the liuing childe in the middst, the one halfe should be giuen to the one, and the other to the other. Thereupon, the true Mother, trembling and quaking, and feeling that knife already in her owne bowels, which was to part her childe in twaine, besought the King, that this his sentence might not be executed, but that the childe might be deliuered ouer whole to the other. Which being well weigh'd and considered by this wise King, and good

Iusticer

Iustice, he knew thereby, that she was the true Mother and so gaue order, that the childe should be restored vnto her. And the holy Scripture saith, That the fame of this notable peece of Iustice was diuulged farre and neere, and that there grew thence a great respect in all the people of *Israel* towards this their most prudent King, who had with so much iudgement and wisedome, administred Iustice. *Audiit itaque omnis Israel iudicium, quod iudicasset Rex, & timuerunt Regem, videntes sapientiam Dei esse in illo ad faciendum iudicium.* All Israel heard the iudgement, which the King had iudged, and they feared the King; for they saw that the wisedome of God was in him to doe Iustice. So that, when they saw how iust a King he was, and with what a deale of vprightnes he did administer Iustice, the people shouted for ioy, and cryed out, that his wisdome was from heauen, and though he were then very young, they began to feare and reuerence him very much. And therefore if a king will be beloued, esteemed, and respected of his subiects, he must be a iust King. For, most certaine it is, that if Kings will pretend honour, authoritie, credit, estimation, and respect, they cannot take any better course for it, then by giuing to euery one, that which appertaineth vnto him, with a iust hand. *Summum in regibus bonum est* (saith Saint *Gregory*) *iustitiam colere, ac sua cuique iura seruare*: It is the greatest goodnesse, and highest commendation in Kings, to honour iustice, and let euery man enioy his proper rightes, and priuiledges. And so it is, that there is not any thing, whereby Kings doe more gaine the Common voyce, for the augmentation of their authoritie, and increase of their Estates, or that doth more incline the minds of their subiects to respect, & obedience, then to know, that they are wise, sincere, full of integrity, & of great zeale in the administratiō of Iustice For then all wil willingly obay him, & heartily loue him, liuing in an assured hope that all his actions, wil be measured, weighed, and crowned with Equity, and Iustice.

3. King. 3. 28.

Greg. lib. 7. Epist. 120.

Let therefore the Conclusion of this discourse be; That (according to *Plato*) the greatest prayse, that can be giuen to a King, is in consideration of this Vertue; for, (as wee will shew you by and by) it imbraceth all vertues in it selfe. And there is not any Title more honourable, or that doth so *quadrare*, so square, and suite; with a King, as that of Iust: whereby a King is made as it were a God vpon earth, and becomes like vnto him in rewarding, and punishing. *Anaxagoras*, and *Homer*, called Kings, *Iouis discipulos*, *Iupiters Schollers*; because in imitation of the Gods, they did administer Iustice. And anciently, they were tearmed *sacratißimi*, most sacred. In effect, Iustice is a vertue, truely regall, and most proper vnto Kings, because it appertaines vnto them by Office, and doth constitute them in their being of Kings; for without it, they cannot be. And therfore your *Ægyptian Theologians*, with one and the same symbole, which was an open-Eye, did signifie both a king, and Iustice. For neither a king, without it; nor it, without a King, can performe their office. And therefore *Plato* calls her the Ouerseer, and the Reuenger of all things, in regard of that great vigilancie which Kings ought to haue in executing Iustice, and in seeing and knowing, what passeth in the kingdome: for kingdomes for this cause are content to become subiect vnto them, out of a confidence they haue, that they shall be protected by them. This is the thing (saith *Osorius*) that Kings must looke vnto; This must be their cheife care and study. *In studium iustitiæ, omnes regis curæ et cogitationes, omnes labores, atque vigiliæ, omnia denique studia consumenda sunt. Ea namque à principio Reges creauit.* The doing, or not doing of Iustice, is that, which either sets vp, or puls downe Kings. And that King, must make a new conquest of Kingdomes, If those, which he hath already gained, be not conserued and defended by the force and power of Iustice, which, is the maine pillar, and onely prop to speake of, that

Diodor. Sicul. lib. 4. c. 2.

Plato lib. 9. delegibus.

Osor: lib 4 de reg. Instit.

that vpholdeth Kingdomes, without which they cannot long last and continue. For God will most iustly punish them, by taking those from them, which they haue, if they dissimulate iniustices, and if they suffer themselues to be carryed away contrary to all right and reason, and permit notorious faults to passe without punishment. Other faults are not so much resented in Kings, and Kingdomes are content to tolerate them, be they neuer so great. But should they haue neuer so many other good parts, if they be faulty in this, which is of so great importance, they shall presently see and perceiue a publicke face of sorrow, and a generall discontent in all their subiects. And God oftentimes, makes it a meanes for the punishment, and amendment of Kings and Kingdomes. It is the saying of *Iesus* the sonne of *Syrach*; That by Counsaile, and Iustice, Kingdomes are maintained. And for default thereof, Scepters and Crownes, are lost, and Kingdomes transferred from one people to another. And those brought to serue, which were borne to command. But the King, that administreth Iustice, without respect of persons, shall haue his succession perpetuall: for that is the very ground and foundation of a Throne royall. *Aufer impietatem de* Prou. 25. 5. *vultu regis, et firmabitur Iustitia thronus eius.* Take away the wicked from the King, and his throne shall be established in righteousnes. That is, His Issue, his House, and his Kingdome. Iustice is that which foundeth Kingdomes, which enlargeth them, and conserueth them; That which establisheth peace, and resisteth warre. Without it, there is neither King nor Kingdome, nor Common-wealth, nor Citie, nor any other Communitie, which can be conserued. And all whatsoeuer that haue beene ruined and destroyed, hath beene for want of Iustice. For this cause the Kings of Egypt, and in imitation of them, some others, did (which all good Kings ought to do) sweare their Presidents, Ministers, and Magistrates, that they should not obay their Eccl. 10. 8.

mandaments, nor execute their orders and decrees, if they found in them, that they commanded any thing contrary vnto Iustice, and the Lawes of the Kingdome. *Philip* the Faire, King of *France*, and his successor *Charles* the seuenth, enacted a Law, that the Iudges should make no reckoning of the Kings Letters nor those his royall scedules, vnlesse they seemed vnto them to be iust, and lawfull. The Catholike Kings, *Don Fernando*, and *Donna Isabella*, and their Nephew, *Charles* the fift, by their well ordained Lawes, Magistracies, and Tribunals of so much power and authoritie, exceeded all before them, that fauoured Iustice. Which were augmented and inlarged by King *Philip* the second, who was more particularly zealous of Iustice. And his sonne King *Philip* the third, was a great fauourer and louer of Iustice, and obseruer of the Lawes, submitting vnto them his person, and his goods. Who might very well say, that which the Emperour *Traiane* said, conferring great power on his Gouernour in *Rome*; Thou shalt vse this sword, in our name, and for Vs, as long as we shall command that which is iust, and against vs, if we shall command the contrarie. For it is alwayes to be presumed of the Intention of Kings, that they euermore command Iustice to be done, but neuer the contrary, though it make against themselues. *Dauid* gaue thankes vnto God, That hee had set him in the way of Iustice, that is, That he had giuen him an vpright heart, and informed his vnderstanding with so right a rule, that it inclined his disposition to doe iustice, though it were against himselfe. The cause (saith *Diuus Thomas*) why God, for so many yeares did inlarge the Empire and Monarchie of the Romanes, with so much power, so much treasure, and so many great victories, was; for that their rectitude and iustice, which they obserued towards all. But in that instant, that they fell from this, their Empire likewise began to fall. Of these Examples,

ples, all Hiſtories, both humane, and diuine, are very full; yet all will not ſerue the turne, they doe little, or no good. Let Gods mercie ſupply this defect, and worke this good. And let not the poore bee diſcouraged and diſheartened, but let them comfort and cheere vp themſelues with this, that their righteouſneſſe, and their patience ſhall not periſh for euer. God hath ſpoke the word, and he will keepe it. The poore (ſaith the Pſal.) ſhall not alwayes be forgotten, not ſhall the hope of the afflicted periſh for euer. For he will take the matter into his owne hands, and will breake the armes of the wicked and malitious, and will helpe the fatherleſſe and poore vnto their right, that the man of earth bee no more exalted againſt them. Woe vnto thoſe, that are rulers of the people. Woe vnto thoſe, that are vniuſt Kings; Which make Lawes like Spiders cobwebbes, wherevnto, little ſtraueling flies, fall and die; but your fat Bulls of *Baſan* breake through, and beare them away in triumph on their hornes. But that wee may touch no more vpon this ſtring, we will here holde our hand, and and goe on, in treating of Iuſtice, and it's parts; A matter no leſſe profitable, then neceſſary, for Kings, and their Miniſters.

Pſal.10.17.18.

CHAP. XXI.

Of the Parts of Iustice in common, and in particular of Iustice commutatiue.

TO the end that we may proceede with more distinction and clearenesse in this Chapter, we are to presuppose with *Diuine Thomas*, and others, that Iustice may be sayd to be in Common two manner of wayes. First of all vnder this generall name of Iustice, is comprehended all kinde of vertue, & therefore in this sense, saith the Philosophes, that *Iustitia est omnis virtus*; Iustice includeth in it selfe all sortes of vertues whatsoeuer: for that a iust Man, and a vertuous man is all one. And in this sense Christ conceiu'd it, when he said, *Nisi abundauerit iustitia*; Except your righteousnesse exceede, &c. And in another place; *Attendite ne iustitiam vestram faciatis coram hominibus*. Take heede that yee doe not boast your righteousnesse before men, to be seene of them. Of iustice, considered thus in the generall, we will not now treate of in this place; for in rigour and strictnesse, this is not true iustice, though it haue some similitude therewith. Now Iustice is taken after another manner for a particular virtue. To wit, that, which is one of the foure Cardinall vertues, which hath for it's obiect and end (as we shall tell you by and by) to giue vnto euery man that which is his right and his due. Of this (which is properly Iustice) do we here meane to treate; of whose Excellencies, all bookes are full, and whereof, the Ancients said; That it is a celestiall and diuine vertue, seated by God, in the mindes of men. *Vlpian* saith; That it is, *Constans et perpetua voluntas, quæ tribuit*

D. Tho. 1. p q. 21 artic. 1 & 2. 2 q. 61. art. 3. Soto de Iustitia & iust lib. 3. Aristo 5. Ethic. cap. 2. 1. Mat. 5. 20. & 6. & 1.

tribuit cuique suum; A constant and perpetuall Will, attributing to euery man his owne. *Plato* he goes a little further, adding, that it is, *singulare, & unicum donum, &c.* The onely singular gift, & the greatest good, that God communicated vnto Mortalls here vpon earth. For, from thence ariseth Peace & Concord. This is it's worke, & the end it pretendeth; According to that of *Esay*; *Opus iustitiæ pax.* And the worke of iustice shalbe peace, euen the worke of Iustice and quietnesse, and assurance for euer. And God himselfe, the Author, Cause, & fountain of Iustice, the first Title, & name that he tooke, when he created the world, before that hee had created Angels, men, and Beastes, was that of Iudge. Whereby we are to vnderstand, that there was a Iudge, and Iustice in the world, before any other thing was created. For, to haue created a world, without a Iudge, or Iustice to gouerne it, and to punish humane excesses and disorders, had beene to make a denne of Thieues, and Robbers. For all Kingdomes and Common-wealths, without Iustice (saith Saint *Austen*) had beene nothing else, but so many Armies, of Out-Lawes, Rebells, and high-way *Robbers*. *Remota Iustitia, quid sunt regna, nisi magna latrocinia.* Take away Iustice, and what are kingdomes, but *Latrocinations*, all kind of theft's, spoyles, and rogueries? Certaine it is, that the first Iudge, and Minister of Iustice, that was in the world, was God himselfe, who appointed Lawes, and Precepts, who did rule and gouerne without Kings, or other their substitutes, till *Noahs* time; who was the first Gouernour of his people, to whom he gaue order that he should liue in iustice and righteousnesse; doing the like afterwards to *Moses*, and after him, to his annoynted Kings. And therefore *Esay* stiles him *Legislatorem*, a Law-giuer. *Dominus Legifer noster*; The Lord is our Iudge, the Lord is our Law-giuer, the Lord is our King, he will saue vs. &c. And then in those dayes, by the sole power & hand of their Kings, was Iustice administred; And they were

Liu. 1. De laud. & in:

Esay 32.17.

Aug. lib. 4. de ciuit. Dei. cap. 14.

were made the Iudges, because they did iudge according to the Lawes. Also they take this name from Iustice it selfe.

Isidor. lib. Etymol. *Iudex dictus est, quasi ius dicens populo: non ergo est Iudex, si iniquitas in eo regnat.* He is called Iudge of iudging the people vprightly. And he is no Iudge, if Iustice be not in him. His Obiect is *Ius*, or that which is iust and lawfull. And his office, to offend no man, to doe right vnto all, to giue euery one that which is his, and what of right belongs vnto him. This Iustice hath power to determine, how, how much, and when, the good are to be rewarded and the bad punished, it is the harmonie of all good gouernment, and whereby the world is sustained; and wherewith as with meate and drinke, the life of man is preserued. And if Iustice should faile, the world would presently returne to that *Chaos*, and confusion wherein it was at the first. And for that this Vertue is so necessary for mans life, Saint *Austen* saith, that your ancient Kings did build and consecrate a Temple thereunto. And that on the high Altar, there were ingraven certaine Letters, which spake thus: Iustice, that is vpright, and free from loue, or hatred, is the strongest chaine, that a Kingdome hath. Which suteth with that, which one of the seuentie Interpreters told King *Ptolomy* (as *Aristeus* reporteth it) who being demanded by him, how he might sustaine himselfe in his Kingdome, and hold concord and good correspondencie with so great a multitude and varietie of men, as were therein, replyed: By preseruing Iustice, and giuing to euery one what was fitting, and not otherwise. And this is so manifest a truth, that *Plutarch* affirmeth, that not *Iupiter* himselfe, though the greatest of the Pagan Gods, could be a good Gouernor without Iustice. In it (saith S. *Ambrose*) is found the Concordancie of all vertues & without it, there is neither consonancy, nor harmony. It is the Mistresse of Mans life, the extirper of Vice, the mother of peace, the defence of the Kingdome, the treasure of a Common-wealth, the ioy of men,

Aug. de Doctr. Christ.

Aristeas in Hist.

Ambr. lib. 2. in Luc. *Aug. lib. de duodec. abus.*

men, the comfort of the poore, the cure of the ſicke, and the medicine of the ſoule. *Cicero*, calls her the Queene and Lady of the Vertues: *Plutarke* would haue her to be in reſpect of the reſt, as the Sunne amongſt the Starres. *Firmianus* affirmeth, that ſhee is the mother of them all. And as the Mother is before the Daughters; So Iuſtice hath the precedencie of all other Vertues. *Scotus*, ſurnamed the *Subtile*, together with *Anſelmus* ſay; that if betweene Gods iuſtice and mercie, there were any precedencie, Iuſtice would haue the prime place. In fine, it is the foundation and ground of all other vertues, and by which all ought to bee regulated and ordred. And we cannot indeare it more, then in ſaying; That if Iuſtice ſhould fayle, all the Vertues would fayle. And if that onely be kept, there will be litle neede of the other. So ſaid King *Ageſilaus*. And it is *Ariſtotles* Tenent; That if Iuſtice were publickly and truly adminiſtred, Fortitude, and other the Vertues, would be ſuperfluous. For one not iniurying another, all would be peace, loue, and charitie. And it is a vertue very naturall vnto Man, who, in his owne nature, abhorreth Vice, and loueth goodneſſe, and what is honeſt. And therefore amongſt other things that are controuerted, *Cicero* ſaith, that there is not any thing more certaine to be knowne, then that Man was borne for to doe Iuſtice. It is ſhe that ordaines things for the common good, and the good of our neighbour. And by how much the common is greater then the particular; So much doth this Vertue exceede others, that are ordayned to a particular perſon, or a mans owne ſelfe. Finally, it is very neceſſary for the conſeruation of the body, and the Saluation of the Soule. *Diuus Thomas*, and others, whoſe names I ſilence ſay; That 24 Vertues ſide, and take part with her, which they tearme *Adiutrices*, Helpers, which doe ſerue and accompany her in all her Actions. And making vſe of them, as of Counſaylours, and Aduiſers, ſhe determines what is iuſt, the good

Cicero lib. 3. de Officijs.
Plut. in Moral. lib. de Doctr. prim.
Lact. Firm. lib. 3 cap. 22. & lib. lib. 5. cap 5.
Scot. lib. 4. Diſtin. 46. q. 3.
Anſelm: in Proſolog.
Plutarc: in Ageſilao.
Ariſt: 3. Top. cap. 2. 1.
Cicero lib. 1. de Leg:
S. Tho. 2. 2. q. 80. Art. 1.

good which is to be followed, and the ill which is to be auoided, there being nothing, that hath not neede of it's fauour, and helpe. For, (according to Saint *Gregory*) it hath foure moſt potent oppoſites, which make the rod of Iuſtice to bow, and turne crooked, and to falſifie the tongue and beame of the ballance. To wit; Hatred, Fauour, Feare and Intereſt. Now Iuſtice is diuided into two parts, which are, the honour of God, and the loue of our neighbour. *Ariſtotle*, did likewiſe conſider two other parts of Iuſtice. One common, which is ordayned for the Common-wealth, and the other particular which is inſtituted for our neighbour. Which by another name, they call Equitie, which man vſing with reaſon, deales ſo with others, as he would be dealt withall himſelfe, vpon the Common, which imbraceth & includeth all the reſt, *Patritius* founded his Common-wealth; And *Plato* his, vpon the particular. Others diuide it into foure parts, or ſpecies, into Diuine, Naturall, Ciuill, and Iudiciall. Which the Schoolemen do define and declare at large, vnto whom I remit the Reader. But laying aſide theſe diuiſions, which make not for our purpoſe, the moſt proper and eſſentiall diuiſion of Iuſtice, is into Commutatiue, and Diſtributiue. Which (as *Diuus Thomas* ſaith) are the *partes Subiectiuæ* or ſubiectiue parts of this Iuſtice; that is to ſay, it's eſſential Species. And therfore we will treate of theſe two, and that very briefly. And firſt in the firſt place of the Commutatiue, and in the ſecond of the diſtributiue.

Gregor. 6. quatuor modu. 1 2. q. 3. de re iud. in 6. cap. 1.

Patri. de Reg. lib. 8. Tit. 2.

Scolaſtici cum D. Tho. 2, 2. q 80 ar. 1.

Iuſtice Commutatiue, Contractiue, or Venditiue, (for all theſe names your Authors giue it, for the matter of Commutations, Contracts and Sales, wherein it is exerciſed, is conſidered betwixt two, party and party, which are a part of that whole body of the Common-wealth, which giue, and take, betweene themſelues, by way of Contract, or Sale. It's end, and obiect, is equalitie, and proportion, betweene that, which is giuen; and that, which is receiued; without reſpect vnto the perſons which buy, and ſell, but to that which

Ariſt. 10. Met: Tit. 18.

which is contracted, ſolde, or commutated, that there may be an equalitie and proportion had, betwixt that, which is giuen, and taken. And when in this there is a defection, it is contrary to Commutatiue Iuſtice. The diſtributiue, is conſidered betweene the whole, and it's parts. The *Medium* of this Vertue, doth not conſiſt in the equaltie of thing to thing, but of the things to the perſons; for, as one perſon ſurpaſſeth another, ſo the thing, which is giuen to ſuch a perſon, exceedeth that part, which is giuen to another perſon. So that there is an equalitie of proportion betweene that, which is more, and that which is leſſe; but not an equalitie of quantitie, to wit; So much to the one, as to the other. For thoſe, which in a Common-wealth, are not equall in dignitie, and deſert, ought not equally to enioy the Common goods thereof, when they are reparted and diuided by the hand of diſtributiue Iuſtice; As we ſhall ſhew you by and by, when we come to ſpeake of the Commutatiue, which treates of equalizing and according that, which mens diſordinate appetites, and boundleſſe couetouſneſſe doth diſconcerte, and put out of order, euery one being deſirous to vſurpe that for himſelfe, which of right appertaines, and belongs to another, whence ariſe your coſenages and deceits in humane Contracts, and whence doe reſulte thoſe contentions, diſſenſions, and ſutes in Law. And to occurre and meete with theſe inconueniences, from the *Alcalde* of the pooreſt Village, to the higheſt and ſupremeſt Tribunall, thoſe pretenders may appeale, if they cannot obtaine Iuſtice in thoſe inferiour Courts. And therefore in *Caſtile*, in the Counſell Royal it is called by way of excellencie, *Conſcio de Iuſticia* The Counſel of Iuſtice. And in all well ordred Monarchies and Common-wealths, there is euermore carefull prouiſion made for this neceſſitie, diſperſing in diuers Tribunall, the fitteſt men for adminiſtring Iuſtice, as we haue formerly related of that great Law-giuer *Moſes*. And in the ſecond booke of the *Chro.* Exod. 18. Deut. 1.

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it is said of King *Iehosaphat*, that he appointed Audiences, and Tribunalls in all the principall Cities of his kingdome, and those euer at their very gates and entrance, that the Negociants and suitors might the more easily meete with the Ministers of Iustice (for this is the chiefest prouision, which a King should make for his Kingdome) indearing to them all the faithfull administration thereof, and that with such graue words, and such effectuall reasons, that they deserue to be written in golden Letters vpon all the seates & Tribunalls of your Iudges. *Videte, quid faciatis; non enim hominis exercetis iudicium, sed Domini; Et quodcunque iudicaueritis, in vos redundabit. Sit timor domini vobiscum, & cum diligentia cuncta facite; non est enim apud dominum deum nostrum iniquitas, nec personarum acceptio, nec cupido munerum.* Take heede what ye doe, for yee execute not the iudgement of man, but of the Lord; and he will be with yee in the cause and iudgement. Wherefore now let the feare of the Lord be vpon yee. Take heede, and doe it; for there is no iniquitie with the Lord our God; neither respect of persons, nor receiuing of reward. The first thing that he admonisheth them of, is; *Videte, quid faciatis.* Take heede, what yee doe. Looke well about yee, and haue an eye to what ye doe. Heare, see, and consider, take time and leysure, be not ouer-hasty in sentencing a sute, till yee haue studied the case well and throughly, and are able as well to satisfie others, as your selues. Vsing that care and circumspection, as did that iust man *Iob. Causam, quam nesciebam, diligentissime inuestigabam.* When I knew not the cause, I sought it out diligently; As if his life had lyen vpon it. *Alcint* saith; That the Tribunes had at the gates of their houses the Image of a King, sitting in his throane, hauing hands, but no eyes; And certaine *Statuas* about him, seeming to be Iudges, hauing eyes, but no hands; Whereby they declared the Office of a King, and the duty of Iudges, painting him with hands, and them without them;

a Chron. 19. 6.

Iob. 29. 16.

them; but with as many eyes as that fabulous *Argos* had; or like vnto those Mysticall beastes, which Saint *Iohn* saw full of eyes within, and on euery side. To shew that they should study, see, and examine causes, and all whatsoeuer passeth in the Common-wealth, and to informe the King thereof; who is to haue hands, and Armes, courage, and power, for execution. Apoc. 4.7.

Againe, that good King puts them in minde that it is not mans, but Gods Office that they take in hand, whose proper Office is to iudge: And therefore in the Scripture, your Iudges are called Gods. And since that they are his Lieuetenants, let them labour for to doe Iustice, as God himselfe doth. For I must be so bold as to tell them, that there is a reuiewing of the businesse, and a place of Appealing in the supreame Counsell of his diuine Iustice. And there the Party pretending doth not deposite his thousand and fiue hundred ducats, but the Iudge, who lyes at stake for it, and if he shall Iudge amisse, he is to pay all costes and charges, and sute of Courte. *Quodcunque iudicaueritis*, (sayth that good King) in *vos redundabit*. Whatsoeuer yee shall iudge it shall light vpon your selfes. He threatneth that, which God deliuereth in the booke of Wisedome to the Kings and Iudges of the earth: *Audite ergo Reges, & intelligite Iudices terræ:* Heare me, yee that rule and gouerne the world, and yee that glory in the multitude of nations that are subiect vnto you, & vnderstand, that the power that yee haue is from God, and that he is to make a *Quære*, and inquire of your Actions and thoughts. And for that being his Ministers, ye haue not iudged according to his will, nor kept his lawes, nor done Iustice, *Horrendè & citò apparebit vobis:* Horibly, and sodainly will he appeare vnto you. He that is most low shall finde mercie with him, but the mighty, shall be mightily tormented. All these are the wordes of the wisedome of *Salomon*, and which are not to escape the memorie of Kings, and their Wisd. 6.5.

Ministers. And *Iehosophat*, as a remedie vnto all, prescribeth vnto his Iudges and Counsellours, one good Counsayle, and sound aduise, which is this; That in all the sentences they shall pronounce, that they set before their eyes the feare of God. For, (as both Saint *Chrysostome* and S. *Austin* affirme) it is easie for him to swarue from Iustice, who feareth not God in what he doth. As likewise, that they should dispatch businesses with diligence. For there are some, that indeauour to eternize sutes. And why they doe so, God, & the world knowes. Bribery and Corruption are the *Remoras*, that stop the course of Iustice, and the cause, that sutes are so long depending before they be brought to a conclusion; to the confusion and vndoing of those that follow them, who are faine, by deferring, to deferring, and putting ouer from hearing to hearing, to sell their very clothes from their backs to wage Law. And when at last with much adoe, they haue sentence past on their side, they are neuer a whit the better for it, but is conuerted into gall and bitternesse, for that his sute hath cost him seuentimes more, then it was worth. To such Iudges as these, suteth that of the Prophet *Amos*: *Conuertistis in amaritudinem, Iudicium; & fructum iustitiæ in Absinthium*: Yee haue turned iudgement into gall, and the fruit of righteousnesse into worme-wood. Furthermore, saith that good King; Consider that yee occupie Gods place, who wrongeth no man, nor is an Accepter of Persons. Yee must administer Iustice equally to all, giuing to euery one, that which is his, and of right belongs vnto him, without any other humane respect. For Iustice acknowledgeth neither Father nor Mother nor friend, but meere Truth. *Cleon* tooke leaue of his friends, when he was made a Iudge. And *Themistocles* refused Magistracie, saying That he would not possesse that place, where his friends could not be in better condition with him, then his foes. Lastly, he tels them, that he would not haue them to be couetous, nor receiuers of rewards. And therfore are they pictur'd without hands, because they should not haue the faculty and gift

Chrys. in Serm. Ioan Bapt. Aug. ad fratres in Erem ser. 35.

Amos 6.12.

gift or taking: *Non accipias personam, neque munera.* This Moses his Aduise in *Deuteronomy*. Wrest not thou the Law, nor respect any person, neither take reward. For the reward blindeth the eyes of the wise, & peruerteth the words of the iust. Iustice should be like vnto the sunne, whose light costes vs nothing, and is neither bought, nor solde. *Non licet in diei* (saith Saint *Austin*) *vendere iustam iudicium.* It becomes not a iudge, to sell iust iudgement: All this appertaineth to Commutatiue Iustice. And by that obligation likewise which kings haue to cumply with whatsoeuer bargaines or contracts haue bin formally made, without acceptation of persons, for he is not to regard them, but the truth. To this Iustice, appertaineth likewise, the gifting, and paying of soldiers, their reward, and their pay. For they doe tacitely make a contract with their Prince to serue him in that Ministry for so many Ducatts a month; And this is due vnto them in all Iustice & right. For otherwise, there should not be an equalitie, betweene a Souldiers paines and his pay. Nor ought hee to put them off with delayes, remitting the remuneration of their seruice to other Ministers, seeing that they serue them in their owne persons, and that the obligation is reciprocall. And therefore a certaine bolde Soldier tolde *Augustus Cæsar*, who thought he had done him a great fauour in recommending him by a fauourit of his to those of the Counsel of warr, that they might heare him, and doe him Iustice; Sir (said he) when your Honor and Authoritie ran so much hazard, and your person put to great perill, did I depute another in my place to fight for me? And therewith all vnbuttoning his dublet, he shew'd him the wounds which he had receiued in his body in his defence. By which he obliged him to heare his cause himselfe, & to giue present order that he should be well and truly payd. And when they in the seruice of their king, shall do more then they are bound vnto, as some which vnder-go braue and noble attempts, ieoparding their lifes in such kinde of desperate enterprises, howbeit commutatiue Deut. 16. 19.

Iustice obligeth not to giue them more then their ordinary pay, yet in a iust gratification, it is required of Kings, that they should reward and honour them, according to the qualitie of their persons, and seruices. For a iust King, ought not to leaue any seruice vnrewarded, nor any fault vnpunished. For *Praemium, & Paena*, Reward, and Punishment, are those two Plummers, which keepe the clock of the Common-wealth in good Order.

But to giue a conclusion to this first part, I say, That Iustice ought to be in all, and withall, all equall and compleat. And for this cause she is called *Flos*, a flower. Giuing vs thereby to vnderstand, that to all she should be *Florida*, fresh and flourishing. Not being like a ripe rotten sticke to some, and full of sweetenesse to others. And as in a tree, after the flower followes the fruit; So likewise is it to be conceiued, that in kings and Iudges, this Vertue is not true, if it consist onely in the leafe and the flower, and doe not come to beare fruit. And therefore in the sacred Scripture, those that doe not as well in deede, as in shew, truly & vprightly administer Iustice, are called Hypocrites; for that they haue no more of Kings and Iudges, then the bare name, & Title. They ought to be *Viua Lex*, and *Ius animatum*; the very life and soule of the Law, that Men may come vnto them, not as to a Man, but as to equitie, and iustice it selfe. They must haue their plummet & their Lines runne euen and leuell towards all: Their Vare, or rod of Iustice, must not be too short for some, & too long for other some. Let Right strike the stroake, & let no man be deny'd Iustice. For this is to be Kings, and Iudges; this, to be common fathers to all, poore and rich, great & small, meane and mighty. *Audite illos* (saith God) *et quod iustum est, iudicate, siue Ciuis ille sit, siue peregrinus, nulla erit distantia personarum, ita paruum audietis, vt magnum, nec accipietis cuiusquam personam quia dei iudicium est.* Deut. 1. 16. Heare the controuersies betweene your brethren, and iudge righteously betweene euery man and his brother, and the stranger that is with him.

Yee

Yee ſhall haue no reſpect of perſon in iudgement, but ſhall heare the ſmall as well as the great; ye ſhall not feare the face of man, for the Iudgement is Gods.

Chap. XXII.
Of Iuſtice Diſtributiue.

IT appertayneth to diſtributiue Iuſtice (as we told you in the former Chapter) to repart and deuide in a conuenient and fitting manner the goods, the honours, dignities and Offices of the Common-wealth. For (as *Dionyſius* ſaith) *Bonum, eſt diffuſiuum*: Good, is a diffuſiue kinde of thing, it is a ſcatterer, and of it ſelfe, a ſpreader of it ſelfe. And by how much the greater the good is, by ſo much with the greater force doth it communicate it ſelfe. And hence doth it come to paſſe, that God is ſo liberall and ſo exceeding bountifull as he is (that I may not ſay prodigall) with men, by communicating himſelfe vnto them by all poſſible meanes, euen to the communicating of himſelfe by that moſt excellent and higheſt kinde of manner, that he could poſſible deuiſe, which was, by giuing himſelfe to himſelfe, and by ſubmitting himſelfe ſo low as to become true man, that man might be exalted ſo high, as to be made equall with God, by that ineffable and diuine vnion, which the Diuines call *Hypoſtaticall*. So that you ſee, that Good, in it's owne condition & nature, hath this propertie with it to be communicable, & by ſo much the more, by how much the more great it is. And herein, kings ought to be like vnto God, whoſe place they ſupply hereon earth; for certainly, by ſo much the more properly ſhal they participate of good Kings, by how much the more

they ſhall haue of this Communicatiue qualitie. And ſo much the neerer ſhall they reſemble God, with by how much the more liberalitie they ſhall repart and diffuſe theſe outward goods, whoſe diſtribution appertaineth vnto them. And to him cannot the name of King truely ſute, who hath not alwayes a willing minde, and as it were a longing deſire, to communicate himſelfe. Now, for to temper and moderate this generall longing, and inflamed deſire, & this ſo naturall and proper an appetite, of beſtowing and diuiding the riches, and common goods of the Commonwealth, this part of Iuſtice, which they call Diſtributiue was held the moſt neceſſary. Which *Ariſtotle* ſays, either is, or ought to be in a King, as in ſuch a Lordly ſubiect, and perſon, to whom this repartition and communication, properly belongeth. Wherein, aboue all other things, Kings ought to vſe moſt circumſpection, prudence, and care, for that therein, they vſually ſuffer moſt coſenage, and deceit: For, in regard that to giue, is in it ſelfe ſo pleaſing and delightfull a thing; and ſo properly appertaining to their greatneſſe, and State, they doe eaſily let looſe the reines to this noble deſire, and ſend giftes this way and that way, in ſuch poſte-haſte, that within a few dayes they run themſelues out of all, and draw dry not onely the Kings particular wealth and treaſure, but the riches of the whole kingdome, were they neuer ſo great. So that, what is done in this kinde with ſo much content and pleaſure, ought to be done but now and then: for ſuch great courteſies, and extraordinary kindneſſes, muſt not be made too common, for feare of drawing on a diſ-eſteeme of them; nor done but in their due time and ſeaſon, not vnaduiſedly, before hand, and vpon no merit or deſert, but when others want and neceſſitie, and his owne honour and nobleneſſe, ſhall oblige him to expreſſe his bounty: And in good ſooth, there is not any Moathe, which doth ſo conſume, nor any Caterpiller or Graſſe-hopper, that doth ſo crop and deſtroy the power of well

well doing, and the vertue of Liberalitie, as the looſe hand, that can hold nothing, and in a lauiſh and diſproportionable manner ſcatters it's Donatiues, with ſo vnequall a diſtribution, that the dignitie of the gift, is drowned in the indiſcretion of the giuer. And therefore, as it is in the *Spaniſh Prouerb.* which ſpeakes very well to this purpoſe; *Para dar, y tener, ſeſo es menester*: A very good braine it will craue, to know when to ſpend, when to ſaue. Yet miſtake me not I beſeech you, for it is no part of my meaning, nor did it euer come within my thought, or deſire, to perſwade Kings to be cloſe-fiſted, and couetous, a Vice to be hated and abhorred in all men, but in them much more. That which I ſay, is; That, to the end that may not be wanting vnto Kings, which doth ſo much importe them, and is ſo proper vnto them, as to giue rewards, and beſtow fauours, it is fit, that they ſhould doe theſe things ſo, that they may be able to doe them often. And according to the olde ſaying; To giue ſo at one time, as we may giue at another. Your Trees in holy Scripture, are ſometimes taken for the Hieroglyffe, or Embleme of Kings, for that they are in ſome things like vnto them; Wherof, we ſhall ſpeak hereafter. But that, which makes now for our preſent purpoſe, is; That the tree, ſhewing ſuch a largenes, ſpreadingnes, and bountifullneſſe, in diſcouering it's fruit through it's boughes and branches, and it's inuiting vs, and preſenting it's prouiſion vnto vs, firſt in the flower and bloſſome, to the end wee may come to gather that fruit, which yearely it bringeth forth in it's due time and ſeaſon; and yet notwithſtanding, hideth and concealeth it's rootes all that it can, becauſe there lyes that fountaine, from whence all this good doth ſpring. As alſo, for that if in that part it ſhould ſuffer any hurt or detriment, all the reſt would ceaſe, nor would it flouriſh and fructifie any more. And I am of opinion, that when Kings cannot content themſelues with conferring of fauors, and beſtowing of gifts out of thoſe fruites and pro-

fits, Which shall arise out of their yearely reuenewes, but that the very rents, *rayzes*, and *juros reales*, shall be giuen away in perpetuitie, or for one or two lifes, which is a kinde of rooting or grubbing vp of the tree; the King shall thereby be disinabled, and depriued for euer of the fruit of those *mercedes* and fauours, which he might from time to time, not onely yearely, but daily, and howerly, haue afforded many of his good and well deseruing subiects. As did that other, who, because they should not trouble him with comming vnto him, to craue of the fruite, of a very good tree which he had in his Garden, caused it to bee rooted vp, and to be sent amongst them, to make their best of it; whose fruite, had he let the tree stand, might haue pleasurd a many, and that many a time and oft, whereas now it could but content a few for the present, and peraduenture, not so well pleased neither, because thereby all hope was taken from them of hauing the like againe. *Alexander* the great, who was very liberall in his gifts, said once to this purpose; I like not that *Gardiner*, that puls vp the trees of his garden by the roote: Giuing thereby to vnderstand, that a King is a faire beautifull, and dainty delicate Garden, wherein (like so many trees) are planted, the Kings rents, and *juros reales*, and whiles the *rayzes*, or roote of them, shall remaine aliue and whole, they may yeelde good store of fruit, but if they come once to be rooted vp, they presently grow dry, and wither away. In the fourth Chapter of the Propheſie of *Daniel* is set downe that dreame, wherein the King of *Babylon Nabucodonosor*, saw that huge high tree whose top did reach vp to Heauen, and whose boughes did stretch and extend themselues to the vttermost ends of all the earth, and so laden with fruit, that there was prouision and sustenance sufficient for all the Men and beasts of the world, and was a shadow and shelter vnto all that came vnder it. And *Daniel*, by the helpe of the diuine Spirit, declaring this dreame, told him;

Arborem

Rayz, is properly the roote of a tree, or any other plant. Metophorically *Rayzes*, are inheritances, or possessions, in lands, houses, or immouable goods, because these cannot be rooted out, nor remoued from place to place as your moueable goods may be. *Bienes rayzes del Reyno.* is Crowne Land, which neither can nor ought to be alienated *Couarr verb. Rayzes.*

b. Iuro. reales. is a certaine royall rent, raised throughout a whole Kingdome; so called *à Iure* for the obligation subiects haue to maintaine their Kings. In consideration whereof they are bound to administer iustice truly, and to keepe them in peace. *Ib. Verb Iuro. Dan. 4. 17.*

Arborem, quam vidisti; tu es Rex. The tree that thou ſawest, is thou, O King. That tree, was an expreſſe ſignification, of that King, and of the Vaſtnes and greatneſſe of his Monarchie, and of that which conueneth, and is proper to ſuch Monarckes. Which is: To communicate their fruit to all, To ſuſtaine and maintaine their ſubiects, and to hugg, and defend them vnder the ſhadow of their wings; And this is ſaid to haue beene, and to haue continued with that Monarke; whileſt the tree ſtood whole and ſound: But the Dreame, and it's declaration, proceeded farther, and *Daniel* told the King; That after he had ſeene the beautie and greatneſſe of that tree, he heard likewiſe a moſt ſtrong and fearefull voyce from Heauen, pronouncing a moſt heauie and rigorous ſentence, that the tree ſhould be hewen downe, and the boughes lopt off, and ſo wholy and vtterly deſtroyed, that the creatures that came thither and were fed and maintayned by it's fruit, fled thence, and forſooke it. Yet the ſtump of the rootes thereof was left in the earth, and bound about with a bond of braſſe, and yron, &c. In this dreame, were ſignified three things, declared by the ſelfe ſame Prophet, with the ſame Spirit of God. Firſt, The fall of that King and Kingdome, in thoſe lopt boughes, and the hewing of it downe, and leauing it fruitleſſe; Secondly, That which vſually befalls Kings, who not hauing wherewithall to giue, all thoſe doe leaue and forſake him, which before did follow him. Thirdly, That when the rootes remaine, there is hope that it may be reſtored, and returne to it's former greatneſſe: As was to be ſeene in this King, whom God ſo ſeuerely puniſhed for his ſinnes. For the rootes of the ſaid tree remained ſtill whole and ſound, and were a moſt certaine prognoſtication, and aſſured hope, that hee was to be reſtored to his former Eſtate. So that when in Kingdomes, the *Rayzes* of the rents royall, remaine whole and intire, though in the giuing away of the fruites, there be much bounty and liberalitie vſed, thoſe breaches

may

may be made vp againe, which are occasioned by so large a hand; But when the *rayzes* are grub'd vp, when the roote that should giue sap and life, is gone, there is not any means of restauration to be made or found, though Kings should charge their Kingdomes with neuer such excessiue tributes, and draw (as they say) the very heart blood from forth their subiects bodies. In a word therefore, there ought to be had in giuing, Order, Moderation, and Temperance; For a Prince, that giues without these conditions, is not Liberall, but Prodigall, a great scatterer and waster, and if not contenting himselfe with the fruites of the tree, he will haue a pull at the rootes, Lord haue mercy on that Land, for it is to be feared, that King will turne Destroyer. Giuing hath it's times, its taxe, it's limits, and it's orderly maner in the doing thereof. The excesse whereof, doth crosse and contradict distributiue Iustice. Wherein is to be considered the kings abilitie; then the seruices and merits of the persons; and last of all the Distribution it selfe, which must be done with discretion and prudence. For all must not be throwen vpon one either part, or partie; nor kings be like riuers; which rising out of their bedds, breaking forth beyond their bounds, vndoe some, and enrich others; robbing many, to raise one. God free euery good Common-wealth from such distributions as these, which are rather destructions then distributions, and actions of Iniustice, not of Iustice. And God (I beseech him) so illighten the vnderstanding and heartes of Kings, that they may in an orderly kinde of manner conferre their fauours, and giue rather reasonable rewards to many, then extrauagant ones to a few. For the raine doth then most good, when all haue the comfort of it. But when it powres downe in one place alone, that marr's and spoyles all. Some grounds for want thereof are parched and dryed vp; and other some, by too much, are ouerflowen, and made fruitlesse. In like manner a King, showring downe all the water of his liberalitie vpon one

particular

particular person, it cannot but breede a generall discontent and languishment, in all the rest of his subiects. And more is the hurt, which resulteth from those, that are offended with the great fauours conferred on others, then the good that ariseth from those that are benefitted by them. For the first neuer forget the wrong they thinke they haue receiued; And the second treate of that they haue receiued, as of a due debt. And all these, and a great many more inconueniences grow from the not true obseruing of this distributiue Iustice. Let Kings conferre fauours on their publicke Ministers, and vpon such persons, as haue done them great and notable seruices, both in Peace, and in Warre: for this will be well pleasing, and very acceptable vnto all, and will oblige them all to new seruices; And such a generall content will it cause in all sortes of people, that it will make them to brook with the better patience those great fauours, which are vndeseruedly done vnto others, being in themselues men of no merit in the world. I would not haue Kings to be too much carried away with the inclination of their own mindes, for as they are Kings, they will euermore be apt to giue much. But I would haue them to place their eyes, as also their consideration, vpon the qualitie of the person, to whom they giue, according to the rules of Distributiue Iustice. For from that in the receiuer, and this in the Giuer, is formed that Temperance, Moderation, and Equitie, which giues liberality it's being, and makes it to be a vertue Heroicall, and worthy Kings; Which, if it be fayling in ether of these, the one, or the other, it shall merit no such name; as you shall see by and by, when we come to conclude this discourse; wherein we aduertise those that giue, that it shall be much prudence, and make likewise much for the good of the party himselfe, that receiueth, to goe leysurely along with him in these *Mercedes*, and fauours. For this difference I finde to be betweene offences, and punishments, fauours, and benefits, that the first are done but once, because in discretion

they

they will not goe dayly nourishing the passion of those who receiue the harme thereby, and stand in feare lest the like ill might happen vnto them selues. As for the second, it is fitting that they be done often, giuing now a little, and then a little, that it may the better penetrate the palate, and please the taste of him that receiueth them; As in our bodily meates and drinkes, bit after bit, & draught after draught, agrees better with our health, and taste, then grosse feeding and full cups. Besides, this faire and frequent distribution, cannot but cause a more settled loue in those persons, on whom they are bestowed, as also in those, who liue in expectation of the like.

CHAP. XXIII.

How, and in what sort, Limitation in giuing, may sute with the Greatnesse of Kings.

NOw I see the reply, and the Argument, which may be made against that, which we haue mentioned in the former Chapter. For this same sising of Kings fauours, and these same short bounds of bounty, wherein some would shut them vp, seemeth no way compatible with the authoritie and greatnesse of Kings; Especially on such occasions, wherein they are forced to bestow them vpon persons that are deseruingly qualified for them, and that haue done notable seruices, who are not to be gratified with small gifts; nor may that seeme to bee much, which is giuen but once. First of all I answer hereunto, that it stands with good reason, that they, who haue spent their meanes, and the better and greater part of their liues, in the seruice of their King and Common-wealth, should,

should be recompenced according to the qualitie of their persons and seruices, when Kings are well able to doe it, without putting themselues in necessitie, or charging their subiects (which they too vsually doe) with extraordinary Impositions. And if it be well considered, the maine drift of our former Chapter was, that things might be so ordred, that Kings might haue wherewithall to giue vpon such like occasions. That therefore which I say is this; That they ought to holde their hand in those Gifts, which they giue meerely vpon their owne pleasure and humour; that they may the better cumply with those which lye vpon them by way of obligation. For they that haue vnder their charge and Command such a multitude and number of subiects, it is not meete, that they should comfort so many and great fauours vpon a few, and few or none vpon many; shewing grace vnto some with that, which in Iustice is due vnto others, whose often sweats, perpetuall labour, and extreame needefeene now for riches, *regales*, intertainments, and annuall rents to those, who in all the whole course of their life, neuer knew what it was to moyle and toyle, or to take any paines for the Common-wealth. May, which is more (and it grieueth my soule to speake it) the sweat and blood of poore labouring men, is conuerted into rose water, for to feede their delights and pleasures, and that in such wastfull, riotous, & loose intertainments, as certainely beseemeth not Christians but Epicures and *Sardanapalians*, who did Amos.6.1. denie the immortalitie of the soule. Woe vnto them (saith God) that are at ease in *Sion*, woe vnto you great Potentates and Rulers ouer the people, who enter in state into the Temples, and goe thence in pompe; who delight in lasciuiousnesse, lying vpon beds of yuory: who eate the Lambes of the flock & the Calues out of the stall; who drink wine in bowles, and annoynt themselues with the chiefe oyntments; who sing to the sound of the Violls, and inuent to themselues instruments of Musicke; no man in the meane while being sorie for the afflictions of *Ioseph*, or taking pitie and compassion

passion of those poore ensorbble wretches, who must wring and sweat to maintaine these their idle and vnnecessary vanities. But the world will be altred with these men one day, and a time shall come, wherein (as that Princely Prophet
Psal. 58. 10. 11. saith.) *Lætabitur justus, cum viderit vindictam; manus suas lauabit in sanguine peccatorum.* The righteous shall reioyce when hee seeth the vengeance, he shall wash his hands in the blood of the wicked. And men shall say, Verily there is fruit for the righteous; doubtlesse there is a God, that iudgeth in the earth. Then shall *Lazarus* reioyce and be glad in *Abrahams* bosome, and the rich Glutton lying in Hell, shall begg a dropp of cold water and haue no body to giue it him. And if any man should say vnto me that the *Grandezza*, and Greatnesse of Kings, requireth, that great rewards should be giuen both to the one, and the other. My answer vnto him is; That nothing better becommeth Kings, for the conseruing of their Greatnesse, then to know that they are but men, and that they cannot stand in Competition with God, whose fountaine of riches, is infinite, and is able to fil and satisfie all, and neuer can be drawne dry, though it be imparted and distributed to neuer so many. Whereas that of men, is but like vnto the water of a Cisterne, which by being communicated to many is diminished and exhausted. King *Nabucodonosor*, and other Kings (of whose falls, there is mention made in the Scripture) for default of this knowledg, fel from their estates. And let that tree, whose top touched heauen, and whose boughes did ouerspread the whole world (whereof wee so lately made mention) serue now the second time for an Example, which going about to imbrace all in it's owne armes, and to giue sustenance in aboundance to all, and pretending to exalt it self as high as heauen, did pay the price of this it's pride, autoritie, and *Signorie*; and did so farre prouoke Gods anger against it, that hee commanded it to bee hewen down, & that being layd leuell with the earth, it might

acknowledge

acknowledge, how much limited, and how short was it's power. Hence therefore that it is not possible for Kings to vse much liberalitie and bounty towards all, there is a great deale of reason, why they should forbeare voluntary Donatiues for to discharge obligatory payments; whereunto in rigour of Iustice, he is strictly bound. The Apostle Saint *Iames* saith; That the debtes, which are due vnto them, that haue done seruice, cry vnto God, and that the teares of the poore ascend vp vnto Heauen, to the end that from thence may come forth a writ of Execution against those, that haue beene the cause thereof. And your Catholike and Christian Kings are not to place their greatnesse and authoritie, on that, as did your Heathen Kings, and those that were without the light of faith. Who pretended nothing else in their gifts and fauours, but vaine-glory, and the idle applause of the world. According to that saying of our Sauiour *Iesus Christ*: *Reges gentium dominantur eorum & qui potestatem habent super eos, benefici vocantur.* The Kings of the Gentiles raigne ouer them, and they that beare rule ouer them, are called *Bountifull*. True authoritie, and Greatnesse, doth not consist, in Magnificencies, and Prodigalities, which are not regular, and ruled by reason: Which requireth, to cumply first with what is due, and that neither Kings, nor their subiects, should thrust themselues into necessity and want, to satisfie the ambition and couetousnesse of those, who (as *Salomon* sayth) like vnto Horse-leaches; *Semper dicunt, Affer, Affer*, still cry; Giue, Giue. That, which distributiue Iustice requireth, is; That Kings should repart the common goods of the Republicke, conformeable to the meritts and seruices of euery one; preferring alwayes the publicke, before any particular good, and ioyntly with this, that they goe clinching the hand for a while, that they may afterwards stretch it out more at large, when it shall be fitting for them so to doe. And this is Liberalitie, that vertuous and noble Meane, betweene those vicious Extreames, Auarice, and Prodigalitie.

Iames. 5. 4.

Luk. 22. 25.

Prou. 30. 15.

When

When our Sauiour Christ had sufficiently fed that great multitude which followed him into the desert, they no sooner found themselues full, but they presently resolued amongst themselues to make him their king. And this their determination grew from two things which they saw to bee in him. The one his noble disposition, in affording them such free and plentifull intertainment. The other for his great prudence and good gouernment, in giuing order that the peeces of bread and other the fragments that were left, should be gathered vp. *Colligite, quæ superauerunt fragmenta, ne pereant.* Gather vp the broaken meate, which remayneth, that nothing be lost. Nor did he doe this that he had neede to set it vp or keep it to serue at some other time vpon the like occasion, (for he could (as often as he would) haue made bread of stones) but to instruct and teach Kings to knowe both to spend and saue, to giue and hoord vp, where, how and when it is fitting, in regard that their power is limited.

Iohn 6.13.

Moreouer Kings are to consider that they, who at one clap receiue much from them, grow so fat and pursie, that they are not able to serue and follow them as they were wont, and sometimes they retire themselues, and nere returne againe, to see either King or Court, vnlesse meere Couetousnesse, and greedinesse of gaine draw them thither to beg, more and more, & to cramme their purses. Being like vnto that Crowe which *Noah* sent out of the Arke, who as soone as he had found firme footing, and whereon to feede his fill, neuer came back again. Kings Palaces are like *Noahs* Arke, where there is a great diuersitie in the Conditions of men; and generally you shall meete there with more Crowes, then Doues. And here, I will with your good leaue, take a little libertie, to diuert my selfe from the Testimonies of Holy Scripture, to those of Great Kings and Monarckes, some of one nation, and some of another. And the first, that I shall begin withall, shall be king *Don Alonso* of *Sicily*, who

Gen.8.7.

walking

walking along by the Sea-side, caused many gobbets of flesh, some great, and some small, mingled one amongst another to be brought vnto him, and still as the Crowes (which were many) came about him, to some hee threw out the lesser, to other the larger morsells. Those that went away with the great gobbets, came no more in sight, but fled their way; but those that had but a small pittance, and were not so full gorged, they followed the King whether so euer he went, and neuer forsooke him. Who tolde those that were then about him; In this (my Masters) yee may see, how much it importeth Kings to distribute their fauours with moderation and temper. *Philip* King of *Macedon*, did much reprehend his sonne *Alexander* for being too lauish of his fauours, and too excessiue in his giftes. Telling him, that thereby hee peruerted the mindes of those, that were to serue him, who in stead of seruing him with that loue & loyalty which in duty they were bound vnto, they would now onely serue him for their owne particular interest, and proper commoditie making, by this meanes, affection and fidelitie become a kinde of trading, and merchandizing. And certainely so it is, that when mens mindes make interest their Aime, and daily to get more and more, they become saleable, and tender their seruice to those, that wil giue them most. And they, which doe thus accustome themselues to craue and take, the loue of friendship and that thankefull acknowledgement, which is due to the Doner, is turned into interessed Loue; which is called by the name of Concupisence, And are (as the Comicke Poet saith) like vnto those lewd huswifes which, *Amore carent, munus amantis amant*; Loue not so much the man, as his money, nor his person, as his purse. You shall seldome see a man, that is (as they say) a *Pediguenno*, a crauing Companion, one that is still begging one thing or other, that hath not some touch of Couetousnesse, and some tincture more or lesse of vnthankefullnesse. For, in regard that these men loue themselues, and

their owne intereſt ſo well, they haue not one drop of loue left for others, and if any doe remaine, they conferre it on a third perſon, through whoſe hands, that which they pretend is to paſſe. And the King, and Prince, to whom all is due, reſt depriued of two things, that are the moſt ſubſtantiall and of moſt importance for the conſeruation, perpetuation, and augmentation of his Kingdome, which are their ſubiects Loue, and Thankes. For the trueſt kinde of Raigning and the likeſt to Gods kingdome, is to gaine the heartes of their ſubiects, and to make themſelues (as much as in them lyes) Lordes and Maſters of their good Wills. And it is our dayly experience, to ſee perſons that haue beene highly and richly gratified, and extraordinarily well rewarded, to haue prou'd very vnthankfull. For, this fault great benefits haue with them, and ſuch as are diſ-equall to the deſerts of thoſe perſons that receiue them, that they are not thankfully accepted of; And thoſe that are benefitted, to the end that they may not bewray this their imperfection (being ſuch, as it is no leſſe, then ſo great a ſinne, as ingratitude) they ſoone learne to forget them; but thoſe that are conferred on others, neuer ſlip out of their remembrance. In a word, of all that that is begg'd, and of all them that begg few there are, that forbeare to goe this way. In confirmation whereof, we may alleadge heere that queſtion, which Chriſt made to one of thoſe ten Leapers which hee healed, ſhewing himſelfe not halfe well p'eaſed with the reſt of his fellowes. *Nonne decem mundati ſunt, Et nouem vbi ſunt? Non eſt inuentus, qui rediret & daret gloriam Deo, niſi hic Alienigena:* Are there not ten cleanſed? But where are the nine? There is none found, that returned to giue God prayſe, ſaue this ſtranger. In Kings Pallaces, your ſtrangers and thoſe that are newly come to Court, are your onely thankfull men; For thoſe, that are well acquainted with the Court, familiarly attend the perſon of the King, and are ſtill aſſiſtent vnto him vpon all occaſion, neuer acknowledge

Luke 17.17.

the

the fauours that are done them, bee they neuer so great: They are alwayes craning, but are neuer satisfied; they swallow downe whole riuers, and wonder not at it; they thinke all *Iordan* is too little for them, and that they shall no soner open their mouth; but they must presently sup it vp. And the reason hereof, is; because they verily perswade themselues, that all whatsoeuer you giue them, (be it neuer so much) is due vnto them for their seruices, and their dayly Assistencies. I therefore say, (and therein say but the truth,) That one of the greatest happinesses, that can befall Kings, is; to be serued by noble persons, and men of honour *gente granada* (as the Spaniards tearme them) iolly, strong, lusty people, proper, comely men, and persons of best and most account both for riches and honour. But this is the mischeife of it, that this golde, which should make such a glorious shew in Court, and shine both in honour and goodnesse, is canckred and rusted by Auarice and Ambition, which eates into all mens mindes, and wholly possesseth them. So that from the highest to the lowest, they are all well read in the Schoole of Couetousnesse, Dissimulation, and deceit; And your Priests, and those that weare Miters on their heads, are not in this kinde the meanest Schollers amongst them. All complaine, they are not rewarded, that they haue nothing giuen them, & if they haue any thing giuen them they thinke it is all too litle. And betwixt this their complayning, & their thankefull acceptance, there is set vp such a strong partition, that it neither suffereth them to acknowledge a benefit, nor to intertaine it with that thankfullnesse as they ought. All now a dayes attend their own interest, and not their kings seruice; Who may say that of them, which God spake by *Malachie*; Who is there euen among you, that would shut the doores of my house, or kindle but a coale on mine Altar in vaine? Not one, I assure you, but will be well payd for his paines. There is not that Sexton, that Cloyster Cleanser, nor scullion of the Kitchen, but will haue good Malach. 1. 10.

wages,& other *ayudes de costa*,or by-helps. This great traine (saith *Seneca*) of seruants and Attendants, seeke not so much after a Master,as Money,a friend,as a fortune. Miserable is the condition of kings, whom none loue for themselues but for their owne ends, and the good they expect from them; so that thistheir priuate interest fayling them,their seruices faile with it, & likewise faileth (so sayes S. *Isidore*) that loue & Loyalty which is due vnto them, *Non sunt fideles, quos munus, non gratia copulat, nam citò deserunt, nisi semper accipiant*; Those whom Lucre, not Loue linketh, cannot bee faithfull. For vnlesse they be still on the taking hand, they vanish,and are quickly gone. Yet is it not my intent and purpose in that which I haue sayd, to condemne those who demaund their pay and satisfaction for their seruices, to relieue their necessities. For therein they doe but vse that lawfull course which is appointed for them by way of petition. Howbeit, *Aristotle*, *Plato*, and other Philosophers, would haue subiects to be solicitous not in sueing, but in seruing. And I farther affirme,that Princes are to take it to their charge,to content those that haue done them good seruice; it being the principall Office of distributiue Iustice, carefully & vigilantly to distribute riches and honours, to those that haue deserued them. And this vndoubtedly,is one of the most effectuall meanes for the good gouernment of a Commonwealth; For, as those three diuine vertues, *Faith*, *Hope*, and *Loue*, are increased and augmented by praying vnto God; so on the contrarie,are they lessned and diminished by sueing vnto Men. For when subiects serue,and not sueing obtaine that which they deserue, humane Faith, Hope, and Loue, is augmented in them; becausе thereby, they are taught to rely on the vertue and wisedome of their Soueraigne, who applyes himselfe to euery mans meritts, and the iustnesse and vprightnesse of his cause; For which cause they will loue him much,but much more, when he giues without being importuned with petitions. And it seemeth vnto them that hee giues not more willingly, then he

he doth wisely, in applying himselfe onely to reason and Iustice, and not to the importunate Petitions of Pretenders. And therefore Kings are not to content themselues onely with paying that which they owe, and to doe *mercedes* and fauours to them that serue them; but that these should likewise goe accompanied with Loue and Good Will; for with remuneration are the seruices requited; and with Loue, are they obliged to doe them still more and better seruice. In that Case, which the Scripture recounteth of King *Assuerus*, who, one night being not able to sleep and take his rest, commanded Lights to be brought in, and some that were about him, to take that booke, and read vnto him, wherein were written the notable things that past in his raigne, and amongst the rest, there was mention made of a great peece of seruice, which *Mardochee* did him, freeing him from that death, which two of his Eunuches had plotted against him, by discouering this their treason, demanded of those there present; What honour and dignitie hath beene giuen to *Mordochee* for this his fidelitie towards me, and the good seruice he hath done mee? And the Kings seruants that ministred vnto him, sayd; There is nothing done for him. Whereupon, he presently bestowed vpon him such great honors and dignities, that vnlesse he should haue giuen him his kingdome, he could not well haue giuen him more. Thus was this good seruant rewarded, honoured, and graced by his Lord and Master, who without being importuned, graciously called his good seruices to remembrance, and honoured him aboue all the Princes of his Kingdome. And I could wish, that all that are rewarded by their Kings, might receiue their recompence vpon the like good tearmes of Reason, and Iustice. But now a dayes, poore and slender seruices (the more is the pitie) finde copious, and plentifull rewards; and those (ordinarily) accompanied with ingratitude; A thing, which Nature it selfe abhorreth; And which tyes Gods hands from giuing, who is so liberall and so rich; and

dryes vp that ouerflowing fountaine of his boundleſſe mercies, from affording vs any farther fauour, or Comfort.

Chap. XXIIII.

Of the repartment and Diuiſion which is to be vſed in the Conferring of Offices; And of the knowledge of ſuch perſons, as ought to bee nominated for the ſayd Offices.

Ariſt. lib. 8. Eth. cap. 10.

LEt vs conſider a King (ſaith the Philoſopher) in his Kingdome, as we would a father of many children in his familie. *Societas enim Patris ad filios, Regni præ ſe fert effigiem*: The ſocietie of a father towards his children, repreſents the true forme of a kingdome. Let any man compare the power royall to what hee will, and (according to *Ariſtotles* opinion) hee ſhall finde no one thing that doth fit ſo well with it, or giues it ſo much fullneſſe, as the Title of father, who day and night beates his braines, and imployes all his whole ſtudy on that, which is moſt fitting for his children regarding more the good which hee may bee able to doe them, then any profit that he expects to receiue from them. How many times whileſt his children, are a bed and a ſleepe, doth the father lye awake, caſting, and deuiſing with himſelfe, how he may mantayne them, and better them in their Eſtate? What a deale of care doth hee take to get his daughter a good Huſband, who is dearer vnto him, then himſelfe? Great is his care; but much more ought the care of a king to bee in giuing to their kingdome, good, faithfull, and diligent Miniſters, to the end that they may doe all poſſible diligences, (as hath beene ſayd heeretofore) fixing alwayes their

their eyes on the Common good, and directing likewise their owne particulare in the same way. That which I would say, (to expresse it in plainer termes) is this; That they are not to subiect the Offices to the commoditie of the men, but to seeke out men, that are fit and sufficient for them. When *Saul* was resolued to recommend vnto *Dauid* that Duell, or single Combat against the Gyant *Goliah*, the better to accommodate him, as also therein to honour him the more, hee put his owne rayment vpon him, and an helment of brasse vpon his head, and a brigandine, and all the rest of his owne compleat Armour; but *Dauid*, who was a man of little stature, and not accustomed to be shut vp in harnesse, found the weight thereof to be too heauie for him, and very troublesome to his body; yet notwithstanding, to obey the Kings Command, and that hee might not seeme to reiect the honour the king was pleased to doe him, hee was willing to make tryall, *Si armatus posset incedere*; Whether hee could goe in it, or no? for he had neuer proued it. But when hee found hee could hardly goe in it, and that he had not the free libertie and command of his body, hee sayd vnto the King; *Non possum sic incedere, quia non vsum habeo*: I cannot goe with these; for I am not accumstomed. And therefore rather made choyse to betake himselfe to his sheepheards staffe, his stones, and his sling, which he knew well how to vse, then to put on the Kings royall rayment, together with his rich Armour, and afterward to giue an ill account of what was committed vnto him. But where shall you meete with the man in these dayes, that is like vnto *Dauid*? Nor is it fit for Kings, in this particular to imitate *Saul*, for we dayly see notable Losses in matters of Warre, and Peace; by accommodating and honouring such persons with Offices, as had neuer beene trayned vp in them, wanting that sufficiencie of knowledge, which is fitting for the administration of them. As for 1. Kings 17. 39.

your Prebends, and other Ecclesiasticall Dignities, whose nomination appertaineth vnto Kings, they had neede take the greater care therein by so much the more, by how much spirituall things, are of more importance, then Temporall. Your ancient Canons and Councells will bee your direction in this case, and teach yee, what yee are to doe and doe inforce it, with such weighty and effectuall reasons, that they are worthy to be read, and considered by Kings, when they make the like Elections, or Nominations, to the end that they may not erre therein. And heere will I bring to their remembrance, that which God did, when that famous and ancient Tabernacle was to be built, which was to be a figure of his holy Church.

Exod. 31. 4. Who (as the Scripture tells vs) nominated *Bezaleel* a curious workeman in all manner of workemanship, whom he filled with his holy Spirit, and indewed him with wisedome and knowledge from heauen, that hee might finish the worke, and bring it to perfection, God himselfe hauing drawen the plot, and being the chiefe, and principall Contriuer thereof. And if for that dead Edifice, for which humane skill and dexteritie might seeme to haue beene sufficient, there was made choice of a man of such singular wisedome, and such admirable partes, as is there mentioned in *Exodus*; for the gouernment of a kingdome, for the ordring of a Common-wealth, for to put euery thing in it's right place, and to administer Iustice equally to all, giuing euery one that which is his; things all of them of such great importance, and which doe so much beautifie and grace this mysticall body of the Church, what ministers will it bee necessary, that Kings should seeke out and inquire after? Namely Men, that are full of the spirit of God, wise vnderstanding men, good Christians, and adorned with all manner of Vertues. And if they will not beleeue me, let them looke vpon that first Election, which the Apostles made, when *Iudas* turned *Apostata*, despayr'd, and hung

hung himselfe. In which Election they made choyse of Saint *Mathias*, a man well knowen, as one that had beene bred vp amongst them, and from whom they had receiued very good satisfaction. *Oportet ex his viris, qui nobiscum sunt congregati, in omni tempore, quo dominus &c. Testem resurrectionis eius nobiscum fieri vnum ex istis.* Act. 1. 21. Wherefore of these men, which haue accompanied with vs, all the time, that the Lord Iesus was conuersant amongst vs, &c. Must one of them be made a Witnesse with vs of his Resurrection. I say, that when Kings finde sufficient parres and aduantagious abilities in those whom they know, and haue neere about them, and in their Court, the Election may in all likely-hood seeme to light more safely and happely vpon them, then any other. For they, who being still in our eye, discouer no faultes, it may be presumed, that they haue not any. For if they had, in such persons they would hardly be hid. And let this be exemplified in some, nay many of those your pictures which being beheld a farre off seeme to be curious peeces, but drawing neere vnto them, appeare to be but course worke, and discouer great faultes. And therefore *Diogenes* sayd, you must stand aloofe to looke vpon great *Statuas*; And I say, That he who in his speech, seemeth to be wise and discreete, ought to be taken for no lesse. For by a mans silent reseruednesse, and holding his peace, it is not much, if he passe for a wise man; because the Holy-Ghost saith; *Stultus quoque si tacuerit, sapiens reputabitur*: Euen a foole, when he holdeth his peace, is counted wise. In like manner, may he seeme to be a good Man, that is a great way from vs, because we neither see his deedes, nor heare his words. And peraduenture, for this reason it was ordayned, that the Pope could not be chosen, vnlesse he had beene one of the number and fellowship of those Cardinalls there present at the time of the Election. And when kings, cannot meete with sufficient persons amongst those whom they know, they must looke o- Prou. 17. 28.

thers

ehers out, though they bee further off. For so did the wisest King that euer was, King *Salomon*, who vsed diligences out of his owne Kingdome, for to seeke out the best Artificers, and such as were the fittest and ablest men for the building of the Temple. He could not content himselfe with good workemen onely, but he sought out those likewise, that were the best, and the worthiest. The like course ought Kings to take, who alwayes, in those Elections that they make, for the building and vpholding of this Edifice of the Church, should not content themselues with electing onely those that are good, but in seeking out the best and the worthiest. Whereby their Conscience shall rest the more secure, and freer from opinion. Whereas in doing the contrary, those that are the wisest, and the most learned, affirme, That their Conscience is not onely charged therewith, but that they are likewise bound to the restitution of the robbery, that is therein done to the Church. And it is a lamentable thing, that for to pleasure a priuate subiect, that he may eate and drinke his fill, and triumph in his pleasures, a King should put himselfe in hazard of going to Hell. But aboue all the foresayd diligences, Kings ought to haue recourse vnto Prayers & supplications, beseeching Almightie God that he will illuminate their vnderstandings that they may elect the best. For so did the Apostles, who being to picke out two of of the best out of the whole pack of those that were there, at the time, when they were to proceede to the Election, they betooke themselues to prayer, vttering these words so full of meekenesse and humilitie; *Tu domine, qui nosti corda omnium, Ostende, quem elegeris ex his duobus vnum,* Act.1.24. *accipere locum Ministerij huius:* Thou Lord, which knoweſt the hearts of all men, shew whether of these two, thou hast chosen, that hee may take the roome of this Administration, and Apostleship. For, being that mens goodnesse and sufficiencie, principally consisteth in the inwardst part of the heart,

heart, which is so close, and so subiect to change, that God onely can truly know it, it is fit, that we should refer the Mayne of these our Elections to him, to the end that they may be guided by his Holy Spirit, and that hee may be the chiefe and principall Electour in them.

This, which we haue said touching prouision of those that are knowen in Court, it seemeth, that it may open a gap for those that are tumultuous Pretenders, and ambitious Courtiers, to carry all before them, and let nothing that falls, scape their fingers. For these are much better knowen, then those wise and vertuous men, who ordinarily liue retyred, and attend more to the Complying with obligations of their profession, and function, then to the Compliments of those, who spend their whole life in pretensions. And it hapneth not once, nor twice, but dayly, and ordinarily, that they who follow the Court, and frequent Princes Pallaces, haue not so much followed their studies, and frequented the schooles. And few there are of them, which take pleasure in reading of bookes, to informe their knowledge, and to supply that, which is defectiue in them, concerning the knowledge of businesses, and the true vnderstanding and execution of their Offices. But the misserie of it is, that if a wise and prudent Man shall seeke to make his entrance and accesse to the King, the Porters will shut the doore against him. And fooles hauing such free entrance it is no wonder that wise men are kept out. As it hapned to that wise Philosopher who being clad in a meane, but honest habit, pressed amongst the rest to the Kings *Antecamera*, or with-drawing Chamber, where hee vsed to giue Audience, hauing very necessary occasion to speake vnto him. But as hee offered to come in, the Porter still clappt the doore against him, and would not suffer him to enter. Hee being a discreete man, presently entred into the reckoning of it, and seeing how the world went, shifted himselfe out of the companie, and changing his poore, for a rich

Habit,

Habit, and being in the fashion as others vse to be, that are not knowen, to make them selues knowen in Court, way was made him, and he presently let in. And at his going in, hee kissed his cloake, and layd; *Honore honorantem me, quia quod virtus non potuit, vestis obtinuit.* I honour thee, that hast honourd me, for what vertue could not effect, my costly cloathing hath obtained. For, he that is rich and well clad, is commonly the best knowen and most respected.

Vir bene vestitus, pro vestibus, esse peritus
Creditur à mille, quamuis sit idiota sit ille.

He that goes in gay Cloathes,
A wise man is held to be,
Though some know ther's not so
Arrant a Cocks-combe, as he.

Et sapiens, non accedit ad fores, quas durus fanitor obsidet: But your Men that are wise, discreete, and vertuous, beare not so base a minde, as to go thither, where they either know or haue cause to feare, that they shall be debarr'd of entrance: so that for the most part, the most deseruing, are the least knowen. To this point therfore I reply, that those men, which are to be nominated for Offices, and Dignities, may be knowen two manner of wayes; First, by that good fame and report which goes of them, and that opinion of vertue, learning, and wisedome, which the world holdeth of them. Which we may rightly compare to the sweete and fragrant odour of that pretious and costly oyntment, which the blessed *Mary Magdalen* powred forth on our Sauiours feet; Wherof it was said; *Repleta est domus ex odore vnguenti:* That the whole house was filled with the Sauour of the oyntment. When either in Court, Citie or Countrie, there is found a man, who is like a sweete Sauor in the nostrills of all men, and beares about him, and scatters in what compania soeuer he comes, a most odoriferous and pleasing perfume

John 12.3.

fame of his Vertue, Holineſſe, and Learning (which is as Saint *Paul* ſays of himſelfe, and his fellow Labourers, the ſweet ſauour of Chriſt) there is no neede to ſeeke for any other knowledge, or to make any farther Inquiry; for this is ſufficient of it ſelfe to make choyſe of him, and to conferre vpon him the greateſt Offices of truſt; It being ſafer to put them into his hands, then into many of thoſe men, that are more in his Maieſties eye, and by ſight better knowen vnto him. For the beſt knowledge of man is by the eare. And he that will not beleeue me, let him reade Saint *Auſtin*, who in a Letter which he wrote to Saint *Ierome*, hauing expreſſed the great deſire and content that hee ſhould take in the knowledge and ſight of him, corrects that ſpeech of his, ſaying; That he had not ſpoken well, in ſaying, That he did not know him, becauſe he had ſeene his moſt learned bookes wherein were repreſented vnto him his very heart and ſoule. In like manner, he that ſhall be knowen by the like fame, or by the learned bookes, that hee hath written; Or if he be a ſouldier, by the great and noble Acts that hee hath done, or by his good gouernment, in thoſe places of Commaund which hee hath held; Such a one I ſay, is ſufficiently well knowen, though he had neuer put his head within the Court gates, or ſeene the Pallaces of Kings. The ſecond kind of knowledge, is that which your ambitious and ſolicitous pretenders doe giue of themſelues, who are ordinary Attendants and Aſſiſtents in the Courts and palaces of Kings and Princes, and the houſes of their Miniſters, ſeeking to inſinuate themſelues into their grace and fauour, by flatteries, Compliments, and Lyes, and oftentimes by giftes and ſubornations, againſt which the doore is neuer ſhut, becauſe they carry about them (if need be) the Maſter Key, not a gilded key, but a key of pure golde, whoſe bitts and wardes are of diamonds, by which they make their way, remoue all difficulties, open the cunningſt locks, and enter the ſtrongeſt caſtles. This is not that knowledge,

2 Cor. 2, 15.

Auguſt.

knowledge, which is here required for conferring Offices vpon them, but rather to ſhut them out of all: For it is to be preſuppoſed, that theſe who doe thus negociate, and pay ſoundly for their places, muſt make their beſt profit of them and ſell at deare rates, that they may the ſooner get out of debt, and haue wherewith all to maintaine themſelues, their wiues, their children, and their familie. But to theſe kinde of men, Kings may (and with a great deale of reaſon) vſe by way of anſwer, thoſe words of our Sauiour Chriſt:

Mat. 28. 12. *Amen, Amen, dico vobis, neſcio vos*: Verily, verily, I ſay vnto you, I know you not.

I will here likewiſe lay open one notable Coſenage and deceit, which kings, vſually ſuffer by the cunning plots, and bolde impudencies of pretenders, and by the fauour of thoſe which put to their helping hand, and giue them their beſt furtherance; And this it is: That when any of theſe pretenders is priuie to himſelfe, that hee hath not the like parts of Learning and Vertue and other abilities, as others haue, to mount at the firſt flight to thoſe high places, whereunto their ambition aſpireth, they ſeeke to enter into the baſeſt and meaneſt Offices, and that by baſe and vile meanes, either by buying them with their money, as good cheape as they can; and when their purſe cannot ſtretch ſo farre, worke themſelues in by the Codpiſſe, by matching with this or that other Courtiers Kinſewoman, and other the like humane reſpects, making theſe the ſtepps for their preferrment. God deliuer all good Kings from ſuch kinde of Prouiſions; eſpecially if they be preferred by them to places of Audience, and of Iuſtice; for therein ſhall they ſinne grieuouſly, becauſe they put men into them, that are ignorant, and neceſſitated, who, for to relieue their wants, and to maintaine their Vanities, they, and their wiues take bribes, and ſet Iuſtice out to ſale. And ſo, not by degrees, and by little and little, but in all poſt haſte, (to the great preiudice of the Common-wealth) they goe ſtill aſcending

to

to greater places, and higher Dignities, wherein they goe on in doing greater hurt and more miſchiefe. And theſe kinde of men, are like vnto your *Martinets*, which if they be not raiſed from the earth, are not able to flye, but being raiſed neuer ſo little, they make a very high flight. So is it with theſe men, who not hauing ſufficiencie for the meaneſt places, are no ſooner raiſed a little by fauour, and by ſuborning, from that firſt Office which they no way deſerued, but they afterwards make a higher pitch, and goe away with the beſt Offices in the Kingdome. And the errour in this, is, for that Kings doe thinke, that they are put into thoſe places for their merit, and good partes, when as indeed it is farre otherwiſe. Though ſometimes alſo it cometh ſo to paſſe, that Kings knowing how that ſuch a one is not fit for ſuch a place, or ſuch an Office, that they may put him out of that, clap him into another better and greater then the former, and which requireth greater parts, and more ſufficiencie; croſſing that ſentence of our Sauiour Chriſt (who is the eternall wiſdome of his father, and cannot lye:) That hee, that is not truſty in a little, is not to be truſted with much. Neither can he be held fit for the greater places, that hath not ſufficiencie in him for the leſſer.

CHAP.

Chap. XXV.

Whether Honours, Offices, and Dignities, are to be conferr'd on those, that sue for them?

TO men of much Learning, Vertue, and Quality, and that haue beene of some vse and seruice to the State, some Ministers doe, & haue sayd; why do you not sue (Sir) for such, or such a place? Especially seeing that Kings loue to be sued vnto; And that to sue, beg, and craue is so holy a thing, that God himselfe knowing our necessities, willeth vs to aske. *Petite, & accipietis*, Aske, and yee shall haue. Besides, it seemeth to bee a certaine kinde of pride, to be willing to receiue, without being desirous to sue. For to sue, is a signe of humilitie. Wherefore, to seeke to runne any other course, sauours of I know not what singularitie, rashnes and presumption. Hereunto I answer, that there is a great deale of difference betwixt sueing to God, and sueing to Men, and in the crauing of spirituall goods, and the crauing of Temporall. For, in sueing to God, we better our selues much, and those principall Vertues, *Faith Hope*, and *Charitie*, are much increased and augmented. For our Faith increaseth, when we petition God, by acknowledging him to be the vniuersall Lord of all things, who onely can fulfill our requests and desires. According to that of Saint *Paul*; *super abundanter quàm petimus aut intelligimus*; That is able to doe exceeding aboundantly aboue all that we aske, or thinke; &c. Likewise Hope, and Charitie, receiue thereby an Increase, because we hope, for a good end of our petition: And for this cause doe we likewise loue God, from whom wee hope to receiue

Iohn

Ephes. 3. 20.

receiue the good, we desire. And this hath the greater force and truth with it, when wee craue spirituall goods. And of these spake our Sauiour when hee sayd; *Petite, & accipietis.* And the Apostle S. *Iames* saith; if any of you lacke wisdome, let him aske of God, which giueth to all men liberally, and reprocheth no man, and it shall be giuen him. But it is conditionall, and bounded with a *Nihil hæsitans*; That he aske in faith, and wauer not. Which may likewise be vnderstood of Temporall goods, as they are ordayned to a spirituall, and super-naturall end. But to aske of men, produceth farre different effects. And therefore we are to consider, that for one of these two ends men may aske temporall things; Either for to raise themselues, or to remedie themselues. Of the latter of these, who demand their pay and satisfaction for their seruices, for the remedying and relieuing of their necessities, wee haue already said, that they are not to bee blamed, but in conscience, and Iustice, wee are to helpe them, and make them due satisfaction, in that which of right belongeth vnto them. Of the former who seeke to rayse themselues, they stand crouching and kneeling with cap in hand to obtaine their purpose, being very dextrous and diligent in doing courtesies, obsequious in their outward behauiour, kissing the hand, and making Congies downe to the ground, and prostrating themselues at the feet of those, who they thinke may doe them good, dawbing their Compliments with base and seruile flatteries. Of which kinde of men, the Holy Ghost saith; *Est qui nequiter humiliat se, & interiora eius plena sunt dolo.* There is some, that being about wicked purposes, doe bow downe themselues, whose inward parts, burne altogether with deceit. Being like vnto your birdes of rapine, who though it be naturall vnto them to flye vp and downe in the ayre, yet are content to stoope and abase themselues, the better to seaze on their prey. Which is euen to a letter or (as they say) to a haire the very same, that King *Dauid* sayd: *Inclinauit se, & cadet, cum*

Iames 1.3.

Eccl. 19.23.

Psal. 10.10.

cum dominatus fuerit pauperum: He bowes, and bowes, and therefore heapes of poore doe fall by his might. Or, as it is in the Original, *vt dominetur pauperi*. He humbles himselfe, that thereby he may grow great, and come to domineere and swagger ouer the poore. For all their reuerences and adorations, serue to no other end, but to raise themselues vpon the wings of their ambition, that when they are in a good place, they may stoope the freer to their pray. So that those, who but yesterday had them at their feete, see them now towring ouer their heads, and loose the sight of them, whom they adore thus raysed, as those before adored them, when but lately, like poore snakes, they licked the dust with their tongue, and trayled their belly on the ground. And growing now warme in the bosome of greatnesse, sting those most, who did most foster and cherish them. And these men, though they negociate well with men, and get what they pretend, yet doe they not obtaine any thing at Gods hands, who neuer grants vnto them what they desire for such like ends. According to that of Saint *Iames*; ye aske, and receiue not, because ye aske amisse, that ye might lay the same out on your pleasures. Howbeit sometimes it is granted vnto them for their further punishment and chastisement. For, as *Austen* affirmeth; *Multa Deus concedit iratus, quæ negaret propitius*; God grants many things in his wrath, which he denyes in his loue. And that, which is recounted of *Augustus Cæsar*, is not much amisse from the purpose, who being importuned to bestow an Office vpon one, who with great instance begged it of him, would by no meanes giue it him, but conferr'd it on another that neuer sued for it, but did better deserue it. And he alleadging the perseuerance of his petitions, and complayning, that he hauing beene so long and earnest a suitor, he should bestow it vpon one that had neuer sought vnto him for it; *Cæsar* made him this answer: *Tu eras dignus qui peteres; ille, qui acciperet*: Thou wast worthy, to sue for it; but hee, to haue it. There are

Iam. 4. 3.

Augus.

some

some things which may be receiued, which may not so well be sued for, so saith *Vlpian* in a certaine Law of his; *Quædam enim, tametsi honestè accipiantur, inhoneste tamen petuntur*: There are certaine things (sayth he) which albeit they may be honestly receiued, yet may they be vnhonestly desired. Kings are to bestow their fauours, but others must not sue for them. *Hoc non peti, sed præstari solere*, saith another Law; it is fit, good turnes should be done, but not sued for to be done. And it was the same mans saying; *Inuitum, non ambientem, esse ad rempublicam assumendum*: That he, that was vnwilling to receiue honour, not he that did ambitiously seek after it was to be preferred in the Common-wealth. And trust me, I cannot search into the reason, why it should become a Custome, not to giue, but to those that aske; For neither they, that giue, doe gaine thereby, nor they that aske, are bettred thereby. For to giue, is so much the more worthy prayse, and thankes, by how much the more liberally and freely it is giuen. And the Prouerb saith: *Bis dat, qui citò dat*: He doubles his gift, that giues quickly. Whereas he, that stays looking and expecting to be sued vnto, seemeth to giue with an ill will, and not so freely as he should. For (as *Seneca* truly saith) there is not any thing that costes a man dearer, then that which is bought by intreaties, and petitionings. And therefore, as often as either offices, or Rents, are bestow'd on those, which deserue them, without making suite for them, the whole body of the Common-wealth doth commend and indeare the rectitude, and iust dealing of the Doner. And all good and vertuous men take heart and incouragement thereby, and are fill'd with good hopes; and those, which are otherwise, ashamed and confounded; and becomes the meanes many times of making them turne ouer a new leafe, and leaue their former lewd course of life. But when this rigour and strictnesse is obserued, of not giuing to him that asketh not, though hee merit and deserue the same, it seemeth to be made a meritorious

Vlpian. l. 1. Ver. ſi. Quædam enim. ff. de variis & extraor. Cognitio. Pompinius, l. 2. ad finem, ff. de Orig. iuris.

rious cause, to sue, and to negociate, and occasion giuen, that more care should be placed in this, then in deseruing well, whereby mens mindes and courages, haue their edge abated, and are dishartened. For to aske, when it is nor for the end aforesayd, it draweth on this inconuenience with it. Which is *Aristotles* opinion, and is made good in all true reason of Morall Philosophy. The Apostle S. *Paul*, quoteth a sentence, which our Sauiour Christ vsed often to repeate; *Beatius est magis dare, quam accipere:* Farre more excellent, and more prayse-worthy is it, to giue, then to take. And if not to take, be so good a thing, much better shall it be, not to aske, for that this is, the ordinary meanes to the other. And herein did the Saints of God glorie much, and Saint *Paul* saith of himselfe; That he would rather liue by the labour of his hands, then be importunate in crauing. And that great Prophet *Samuel*, that which he did most prize and iustifie himselfe of before the people, was, that hee had faithfully performed his function, without crauing or taking any thing. There was a time, wherein the Romane Senate did ordaine, that the Consullship, and other the chiefe Magistracies, should not be giuen to any, saue such as sued for them. This Law, at first was good; for then, none durst presume to sue for them, but those, who in the peoples opinion did well deserue them, and tooke it for a great affront that they should receiue a deniall. So that by this meanes euery one did labour by his noble Actions to deserue that Dignitie, as also that all the people might thinke him worthy thereof. Afterwards, this proued to be a very pernicious Law; for, not those, who by their vertues, and heroicall Acts, did deserue this Honour; but those, that were the most powerfull did sue for it, whileſt others, for feare of these, durst not shew themselues in the busines, and so were vtterly excluded from those honourable Offices. This inconuenience, was taken notice of, and *Publicola* the Consull made a Law, vpon paine of death, wherewith he was to be

punished

punished, who without approbation from the people of Rome, should sue for any of the said Offices. And likewise, for the curbing of this Vice, was the *Culphurnian* Law enacted. But now (for our sinnes) hath crept in amongst vs that Greekish infection, wherof I *Socrates* saith, that Ambition at that time, was growen to that extreamitie, and to that hight, that in stead of putting ambitious pretenders to death, those honourable places were not bestowed but vpon those, which did shame-fully sue for them, and could best negociate by their power, purse, or friends, which is, was, and will be an occasion in all times and places, that with scandalous corruption, and Simoniacall trading, Offices, and Benefices shall be giuen and solde, to him that will giue most. Not the better person, but the better purse shall carry it. The inconueniences, that follow the so much fauouring of suitors, and being vn-mindfull of those, who tend nothing else but to serue, and deserue well, are very great, and not vnknowen to all those that are Statists, and good Common-wealths men. And if the shortnesse, which I desire to obserue in this Discourse, did not hinder mee, a large field would here discouer it selfe vnto me, wherein to enter and expatiate my selfe, and might take occasion to treate of the false hoods, shiftes, deceits, and iniustices, which are dayly vsed in such like pretensions, and petitions, which haue beene the cause of the destruction and ruine not only of particular Common wealthes but of whole Kingdomes. And this which I speake, is of so much truth, that some of the Hebrew Doctors hold for certaine, that the Monarchie of the House royall of *Dauid* was ouerthrowne by giuing credit to the malice and deceit of a couetous pretender, and that of twelue Prouinces which his heyres possessed, of those twelue Tribes, two onely remayned intire vnto him: The case was this; King *Dauid*, hauing (in performance of that oath and promise, which he had made vnto *Ionathan*) giuen vnto his sonne *Mephibosheth*, all those heredements, messuage

Isocrates Orat. de pace.

2 Sam. 9. 6.

messuage, and goods, which were King *Sauls*; And commanding *Ziba*, that hee, and his sonnes, and his seruants, should serue him, and till his land for him, and bring him in foode to eate, there entred into *Ziba's* minde a diuelish
2.Sam.16.3. pretension, to beg all *Mephibosheths* estate for himselfe. And thereupon, tooke hold of such an occasion, as seemed fittest vnto him to worke this his treacherie and deceite. When King *Dauid* fled from his sonne *Absalon* to the mountaines, *Ziba* the seruant of *Mephibosheth* met him with a couple of Asses sadled, and vpon them two hundred cakes of bread, and an hundred bunches of Raysons, and an hundred of dryed Figgs, and a bottle of Wine, and other the like commodities for the refreshing of *Dauid* and his followers. And hauing a Lye ready at hand, which he had thought on before, hee castes himselfe downe at the Kings feete, and telling him a thousand leasings, raised false witnesse against *Mephibosheth*, informing his Maiestie, that *Mephibosheth* was in *Ierusalem*, and tolde him; This day shall the house of *Israel* restore mee the Kingdome of my father. Is it euen so, sayd the King? Behold, Thine are all, that pertained vnto *Mephibosheth*. And truly, this businesse was strangely carryed. For notable was the facilitie, where-with the King gaue credit to the calumniation of this pretender, and the remisseneſse which he shew'd in punishing so loud a lye, and so great a treason, when the truth of the matter, and the innocencie of *Mephibosheth*, was afterwards made knowne vnto him. And that, which I conceiue concerning this point, is; That the cause why hee did not punish this so fowle a treacherie, was; Either for that he was conscious to himselfe of the fault, which he had committed in hauing giuen such easie beliefe there vnto: or, for that the rootes of this suspicion, and iealousie, did remaine still deepely grounded in his heart. For the calumnies, and cautelous suggestions of Pretenders, carry this mischiefe still with them, that they pierce euen to the very heart

heart, and are hardly remooued from the minde of him, that giues eare vnto them. *Verba ſuſurronis, quaſi ſimplicia, & ipſa perueniunt ad intima cordis:* The words of a Tale-bearer, are as flatterings, and they goe downe into the bowells of the belly. And therefore the Holy Ghoſt adviſeth vs, that when ſuch men come to ſpeake with vs in ſecret, and to whiſper things in our eare, that wee ſhould not hearken vnto them. *Quando ſubmiſerit vocem ſuam, ne credideris ei, quoniam ſeptem nequitiæ ſunt in corde illius.* Though hee ſpeakes fauourably, beleeue him not, for there are ſeuen abhominations in his heart. Which in plainer language, ſpeakes thus vnto vs; When a flatterer ſhall talke vnto thee in a low voyce, and whiſper thee ſoftely in thine eare, that hee may not be heard of the ſtanders by, caſte him out for an eare-wigg, and doe not giue credit vnto him; for there are ſeuen, nay ſeuenty malitious purpoſes in that mans heart. And it would be a great ioy and comfort vnto mee, that God would diſcouer vnto Kings, theſe perſons and their diueliſh practiſes, that ſuch baſe and vnworthy people, might not vnder the colour and ſhew of good and worthy men, thus abuſe and deceiue them. In a word, mens hearts, and their tongues, doe not alwayes go together. Nor is the ſpeech, and the thought all one. *Quia labia doloſo in corde, & corde locuti ſunt.* They ſpeake deceitfully euery one with his neighbour, flattering with their lippes, and ſpeake with a double heart. But God deſtroy ſuch deceitfull and lying tongues, to the end that truth may finde entrance in the Courtes of Kings. O, how many inconueniences would be excuſed, if thoſe perſons, to whom the charge is committed of diſtributing Offices, and rewarding of ſeruices, would take the care, to conferre them on thoſe that deſerue them, and not on thoſe that negociate and ſue for them; then would there not be ſo much libertie, nor ſo many tricks vſed in petitioning, nor ſo many Orators in the Courte, in whom, by this ſuing vnto them, couetouſ-

Prou. 26. 22.

Ibi. 25.

Pſal. 12. 2.

neſſe increaſeth, and the hungry appetite of taking; whileſt in the meane while all modeſtie and ſhame is vtterly loſt. And I am verily perſwaded, that kings many times, ſtreightned by earneſt intreaties, and the importunate prayers of ſuch as are in neere places about them, doe vndeſerued fauours, rewarding vnworthy ſuitors, and leauing out thoſe that are worthy, becauſe they doe not offer to ſpeake and ſue vnto them. And that you may perceiue that I doe not ſpeake this of mine owne head, or that it is a birde of mine owne hatching, I will relate that here vnto you, which Saint *Luke* reporteth of an importunate woman, who finding her ſelfe wronged, came to a ſecular Iudge, that was an ill minded man, and vniuſt, and was very earneſt with him, crying ſtill vnto him; doe me Iuſtice againſt mine Aduerſary: Which he would not of long time, but afterwards he ſayd with himſelfe; Though I feare not God, nor reuerence man, yet becauſe this woman troubleth me, I will doe her right, leſt at the laſt ſhee come, and make mee weary. To begge, and ſue, is an eaſiy office, eſpecially, when pretenders know, that bearing breedes wearieſomneſſe, and that by this meanes they obtaine that which they ſue for, it being the nature of many men, and more particularly of Kings that loue their eaſe, to be quicke in their grants, for the auoyding of further trouble. Our Sauiours Diſciples, were much troubled, & their eares were euen tyred out, with hearing the clamourous voyce of the *Canaanitiſh* woman, and intreated *Chriſt*, that he would diſpatch her, that they might be rid of her. And we vſually ſee, that your importunate ſuitors, be it iuſt, or vniuſt, obtaine their purpoſe. And I know not, whether I may blame them moſt, or thoſe that put them to it, to be importunate in this, or that, be it right, or be it wrong. God knowes where the fault lyes, and will reward euery one, as he deſerues:

Luk. 18. 3.

CHAP.

Chap. XXVI.

Of the sence of Smelling; That is: of the Prudence of Kings.

THe sence of smelling, is likewise in the head and the nose, it's adioyning Instrument; which both in diuine, and humane letters beare the signification of Prudence. In the seuenth Chapter of *Salomons Song*, where is represented vnto vs the beautie of the Spouse, amongst other graces there recommended and indeared, the nose is not the least. *Nasus tuus* (saith her beloued) *Sicut Turris Libani, quæ respicit contra Damascum*: Thy nose, is as the Tower of *Lebanon*, which looketh toward *Damascus*. And the Expositors vpon this booke of the *Canticles*, doe stand much vpon these words, for that they seeme to be much contrarie vnto that, which should extoll and set forth a beauty to it's full perfection. For in very deede, a huge and disproportionable nose, both seemes, and is, a fowle and ougly thing. And therefore those interpreters say, that it is not to be vnderstood in that first sence which offers it selfe vnto vs, which is grammaticall; but in it's mysticall and spirituall signification, which by a generall consent representeth vnto vs, the admirable prudence of the Church in the gouernment of Soules, a thing of greatest importance, and the most necessary, in Prelates and Gouernours, and more particularly, in Kings, and Princes. *Nasus tuus, sicut Turris Libani:* Thy nose is as the Tower of *Lebanon*; Which King *Salomon* built, that from thence he might behold, and see, all whatsoeuer passed in *Damascus*. From thence, might he discouer his enemies, and their ambushes, and the theeues lying in waite to rob *Ierusalem*. Of this Tower, Cant. 7. 4.

Tower, they say, that it was very high, euen, and streight, and for to represent the beautie of the face of the Spouse, it is (and with a great deale of proprietie) sayd; That her nose is like a Tower; for that, which doth most beautifie a Citie, or any other place whatsoeuer, is a fayre high Tower. In like manner in the face of any person, the nose, which is that, which is eleuated and lifted vp aboue all the other parts of the face, expresseth great beautie, whereas, to be without a nose, or to haue it too hooked, or too flat, extraordinarily crooked, or extraordinarily little, is a foule deformitie. And therefore, the summe of all, that hitherto hath beene sayd, is; That, what a goodly fayre Tower doth, in the adoring and setting forth of a Citie, which doth exceedingly grace and beautify the same; The same doth the nose in the face of the Spouse, which is so well proportioned, that it much commendeth all the whole feature. And vpon this Litterall, leaneth the spirituall sence of this place; which is: That this Tower doth denotate discretion, and prudence, which exalts it selfe aboue all other the workes of Vertue, and doth grace and beautifie them all. Many of the Gentiles erected Fortune for their Goddesse; It seeming vnto them, that shee was the onely Lady, and Mistris of all good, and bad successe; But others, which drew neerer vnto Truth, and Reason, made a iest thereof, and sayd; That it was not Fortune, that afforded happinesse, and prosperitie, but prudence; and that shee was rather Fortunes Mistris, and that her power did predominate ouer the Starres. And therefore sayd another.

Iuuenal Satyr. 10 *Nullum numen abest, si sit prudentia tecum.*

No Deitie, no power, is wanting to him, that is indewed with wisedome. Men of small vnderstanding, and such as are careless in their businesses, attribute Diuinitie to Fortune, that they may free them selues from the note and imputation of carelesnesse, and imprudencie. But the truth

truth is, that fortune ſtays not behinde, when prudence ſetts forward. And therefore it was well ſayd of *Saluſt*; *Vnuſquiſque eſt artifex fortunæ ſuæ*; Euery man is the worker out of his own fortune. And the Spaniſh Prouerb tells vs, *Que la buena diligencia, es la madre de la buenauentura*: That good diligence, is the mother of good ſucceſſe. So that in very deede, there is neither good, nor bad Fortune, but it is the will of God, that rules and gouerns all, and the care, and prudence, wherewith men haue recourſe vnto that, which is fit and conuenient for them. And therefore is prudence in Kings, of that great importance, and ought to be, (as we ſayd of the Spouſes noſe) like a high tower, and not according to that modell as they would haue it, but it muſt be placed vpon Mount *Lebanon*, to the end, that being in ſo high and eminent a place, it may make the better diſcouery. Kings muſt haue an eye as well to that which is a far off, as that which is neere at hand; on this ſide, and on that; heere, there, and euery where. They muſt bee ready to ſupply vpon this, or that other occaſion; They muſt ſee, and foreſee all. *Iſtud eſt ſapere, non quod ante pedes modo eſt videre, ſed etiam illa, quæ futura ſunt, proſpicere*, ſayd the Comicke: This, in realtie, is true wiſedome, not to ſee that onely which is before his feete, but to foreſee that alſo which is to come. And this prouidence, circumſpection, or prudencie, ſound alike, and are in a manner one, and the ſame thing. The Ancient did ſo artificially paint prudencie, that ſhee ſeemed to looke euery way, and to haue her eyes fixed on whatſoeuer did behold her. For prudence, as it is ſilent, ſo it is ſearching; nothing eſcapes her knowledge. And it is a vertue that maketh Kings like vnto God. For, as hee, by his diuine prouidence, doth foreſee all, and gouerne all and hath all things preſent before him, ſo they by their humane prudence, which participateth of the diuine, behold things paſt,

Saluſt.

Terentius.

past, dispose of things present, and prouide for things to come. Some call her *Filiam Dei*, Gods daughter, because it seemed vnto them, that shee had something of the Deitie in her, that shee was his Minister in the creation of the world, and disposition of all things, and ought likewise to be the Mistris of Kings vpon all their occasions. For (as *Aristotle*, and *Plato* avouch) no man can gouerne well, that is not prudent. In ancient times, the Common people were of opinion, that Prudence was annexed vnto Kings, and that they had a particular gift to fore-see that, which was to come. And such, as were prouident, and prudent, they held to bee Diuine. True it is, that wisedome is the gift of God, and wee must craue it of him, as did *Moses*, *Iosshua*, *Dauid*, *Salomon*, and other wise Kings. Which to obtaine, wee must shunne and flye from sinne; for, it is impossible that hee should bee prudent, that is not vertuous. And so much hath a man of prudence, as hee hath of vertue. And according to this measure, shall the authoritie, credite, and opinion bee which hee shall hold with the people. The Offices and effects, which Prudence doth, and causeth, are many; And some of them are collected, out of the many and various expositions which the Doctors attribute to this Tower, and nose of the Spouse, which we will goe disposing, by it's Paragraphes, in this chapter.

§. I.

§. I.

Of the Magnanimitie of minde which Kings ought to haue.

BY this high Tower, and nose of the Spouse, some vnderstand the Pope; *Quia in facie Ecclesiæ eminet:* Because he is an eminent man in the face of the Church. But *Rabbi Kymki*, and *Philo Iudæus*, will haue it, by the selfe same reason, to bee vnderstood of a King; Adding withall, that the nose doth betoken Maiestie, Grauitie, Longanimitie, and excellencie of minde, wherein a King ought to exceede all other. And therefore the *Persians* would neuer choose him to be their King, who had not a hooke nose like the Eagle, well shap't, and proportioned, which is the ensigne of a magnanimous minde. And hence it is, that they say of the God of the *Hebrewes*, that hee hath great and large nostrils. So sounds that word of the *Psalmist*; *Longanimis, & multum misericors: id est, longus naribus.* Psal. 1. The Lord is mercifull and gracious, slow to anger, and plentious in mercie: that is; Of wide nostrills, full of sufferance and patience; for the smoake of fury and choler doth not so soone runne vp the chimney, as in those which haue straight and narrow nostrils, who are soone hot, and sodainely incensed to anger. And the selfe same *Philo* saith, that in the *Leuiticall* Law, they were not admitted to the Preisthood, who had either a little, crooked, or disproportioned nose, as being lesse fit for that Ministery. The one, are hot and cholerick; the other, ill-inclined. Those againe, which haue too great a nose, are naturally cruell, and proude, and

and these are misliik't of all; but that, as much commended, which signifies magnanimitie, bountifullnesse, and generousnes, and is of sufficient largeneſſe to suffer and dissemble anger, and not to haue the chimney choaked with a little smoake. A qualitie, so much importing Kings, that from thence did arise that Prouerb; *Qui nescit dissimulare nescit regnare*: Hee that knowes not how to dissemble, knowes not how to rule. And there was a King of late times, which stickt not to say; that hee would not haue his sonne know any more Learning, then that which this sentence doth containe; for that it was so good and profitable a Lesson for Princes. *Tiberius Cæsar*, did glorie in no one thing more, then in the Arte of Dissimulation, wherein he was so excellent, that neuer any, vpon any, though neuer so great occasions giuen by him, could search into his intents, or diue into his thoughts. In the story of the Kings, it is written; That at the very same time, that God commaunded the possession of the Kingdome, to be giuen vnto *Saul*, which was the first King he had nominated, some ill disposed persons, that were malitiously bent against him, did murmure at him, and speake ill of him, seeming to scorne, and set light by him. But God had giuen him such a measure of wisedome, and discretion, that although all that they had sayd, came to his eare, *Ipse verò dissimulabat se audire*: Yet hee held his peace, and would not seeme to take notice of it. For, when Kings come newly to their Crownes, and that the things of the Kingdome are not yet throughly settled, it is great prudence to reserue with dissimulation the punishment of great persons, that with better occasion, and in a better coniuncture, he may proceed against them, as reason and Iustice shall require. That King shall not be accounted wise, that shall pretend execution of Iustice with the danger of Insurrections, and seditions; nor shall the iustification of his intent, suffice to execute his rashnesse in the meanes,

1 King. 10. 27.

meanes, vnleſſe hee firſt ballance the buſineſſe, and ſee which way the ſcale will incline, as to ſee, how farre hee may rely vpon the loue of his ſubiects, and how the end may ſort with his deſignes, leſt the danger of the ſcandall & diſobedience may proue to bee greater, than the profit that can ariſe from the execution of Iuſtice. For in ſuch caſes it is great wiſedome in a King, to conforme himſelfe according to the times. And that that which at one time is worthy of punishment, ſhould be diſſembled, and reſerued to be punished at another time. Which counſell (as *Saluſte* reporteth) was, in *Catilines* time, taken with that great and powerfull Courtier *Craſſus*. The Emperour *Iuſtinian* hee likewiſe aymes at this marke. And it is in the Counſayle, which *Iſidore* giues vnto Kings. The likewiſe King *Dauid*, when *Ioab* ſo treacherouſly ſlew *Abner*. Onely to ſome few, that were very inward with him, he diſcouered the reaſons that moued him to diſſemble the matter, and not to puniſh him with death for the preſent; telling them with a great deale of griefe, *Ego hodie tener adhuc delicatus ſum, & vnctus Rex*: I am this day (weake, (or as the *Hebrew* renders it, tender) though annoynted King. As if he ſhould haue ſayd: To ſee the affaires of my Crowne and Kingdome in that tender and tickliſh eſtate wherein they ſtand, obligeth me, not to make that demonſtration of rigour and iuſtice, as the heynouſneſſe of this fact doth require. But the Lord ſhall reward the doer of euill according vnto his wickednesſe. *Tribuat dominus facienti malum, iuxta malitiam ſuam.* Here is much to be conſidered, the great care, which this King tooke in concealing his purpoſe from the people, till ſome better occaſion were offred; For, if he ſhould haue declared himſelfe before, and manifeſted his meaning to the world, that might haue put the whole Campe in danger of Mutining; or at leaſt to haue ſhewd themſelues in defence of their Captaine. This perill, he ouerpaſt by his great prudence, diſſembling the

Saluſt: In Autbem: Quomodo oportet Iſid. lib. 3. Senten. cap. 50.

2. Reg. 3. 39.

matter

matter for that time, and deferring it till the last vp-shut, when now the businesses of the Kingdome were better settled; For, the most important point in gouernment, is, to make vse of Time, and occasion, facilitating with silence and dissimulation, those orders and decrees, which doe crosse the peoples humour, or that stand not with his liking that is powerfull with them; For if they should be diuulged before their due time and season, they would serue for nothing else, but to incense mens mindes, and peraduenture to turne them against himselfe. Which certainly might well haue beene *Dauid*'s case with *Ioab*, if hee had shewed himselfe offended, and openly vented his spleene against him, whilest he had his sword in his hand, and stood so fayre in the peoples affection; who in that hurre might haue done (God he knowes what) for the aduancing of his ambitious ends. In such cases, it is great prudence in a Prince, (continuing still firme and constant in his purpose) to benefit himselfe by dissimulation, waiting for a fit time and season, when without danger hee may vnmaske himselfe, and with the safety of his realme and person, put his resolution in execution. A word well kept, and fitly spoken, is (saith *Salomon*) like apples of gold, in pictures of siluer; which doth not onely shine and giue a glorious luster, but worketh it's effect, and discouereth the art and cunning of it's Master. And King *Dauid* hauing heard the reproachfull words, and reuiling tearmes which *Shimei* to the very face of him, and in a loud voyce, vttred in the presence of those that were with him, wisely dissembled his rayling, and was angry with *Abishai*, because he was earnest with him, that hee might presently take due chasticement of him, and reuenge the great affront hee had done him, and would by no meanes giue consent, that any one of all his Army should once moue or stirre against him. For, that holy King thought it fit in his wisedome, to leaue him to that occasion,

Prou. 25. 11.

which

which hee afterwards ſpecified to his ſonne *Salomon*; that he might teach Kings theſe two things. Firſt to relye on God, and to attend his leaſure, who will doe that for them, which they cannot doe for themſelues; As he did in that known caſe of *Moſes* brothers murmuring againſt him, which hee himſelfe ſo mildely and fayrely diſſembled. But God, to whoſe account runn's the honour of his Miniſters, tooke the cauſe into his owne hands. Secondly; That it is not fit to be ſolicitous in appointing Iudges, and Informers, at all howers, and in all places, againſt ſuch, as in ſome occaſions, aſſume libertie of ſpeech, and freely vtter their mindes. For, as another ſayd, In free places, and perſons that are likewiſe free-borne, wee cannot at all times exerciſe that ſlauery vpon them, as to clap a Locke and chaine vpon their tongues. Who could haue done this better, then that omnipotent King *Chriſt Ieſus*, when thoſe licentious and looſe-tongued *Libertines*, reproached him with ſuch ſharpe & bitter Taunts as toucht him to the quick in his honour, and yet euen then with what a royall minde, and princely reportment did he carry himſelfe, in thoſe few milde and moderate words, which he ſpake vnto them. Kings ought not to expreſſe any alteration, turbation, or diſcompoſure, for thoſe things which they ſee, nor to be ſtartled euery foote with that, which they heare, nor to ſhew themſelues offended at that, which is muttred and murmured of them. But let them (a god's name) mend that, which is amiſſe, and then their muttering and murmuring will ceaſe of it ſelfe. Heere likewiſe Kings are taught, not to be curious inquirers after thoſe, that ſpeake ill of them, nor to giue eare to euery idle complaint; For if it be once perceiued, that their eares itche after this, infinite will the number of Delators, and Informers be. In the raigne of *Tiberius*, and of *Nero*, more then in any other were theſe *Sycophants* and priuie Accuſers fauoured; and things were then ſo glazed ouer, that they had ſet ſpies, that ſhould curiouſly obſerue the ſemblance, which e-

uery one made of his Actions, euen to the knitting of the brow, biting the lip or the like, which kind of carriage, ſeru'd as a condemnation, and was ſeuerely puniſhed. But it is fitter for Tyrants then Chriſtian Kings, to ſtand thus in feare of the tongues of the vulgar, it being the part of a magnanimous minde, to know how to forget, and forgiue iniuries, eſpecially thoſe of the tongue, to whoſe iuriſdiction, the moſt powerfull, are moſt ſubiect. And if they ſhould reuenge this wrong vpon account, the number would be ſo great, and riſe to ſuch an infinite ſum, that they may quickly bring their Monarchie to an end. That which moſt importeth for their own and their Empires quiet, is to ſhake all kinde of ſuſpition out of their minde; and whatſoeuer others thinke of them and their affaires, they ought to be ſo farre from being troubled therewith, that it ſhould no whit moue them. Holding it to be (as *Seneca* ſayth) the ſweeteſt maner of pardon, to pretend ignorance of the delict, and to examine with care his owne care'eſe carriage, and open neglects, if he haue committed any, and if not, not to care a pin what they ſay. For the Vulgar is a beaſt of many heads, and as it is impoſſible to ſatisfie al of them, ſo is there no reaſon, that they ſhould haue an Account giuen them of that which the Prince doth. It is ſufficient, that the wiſer and grauer ſort, know, and eſteeme both him, and his proceedings. This was the doctrine of that great King, *Philip* the ſecond, who wrote vnto his Viceroy in *Naples*, as followeth: *Neceſſario es, que gouerneys de manera, quæ todos buenos y malos, no ſe quexen de vos.* It is requiſit, you ſhould ſo carry your ſelfe in your gouernment, that all, as well good as bad, may not complaine of you. And this was another of his which he deliuered to his ſucceſſour, *Fare, oſo ſera, que los malos nos murmuren, y aborrezcan; Lo que à noſotros toca, es proceder de manera, que tambien no nos aborrezcan los buenos:* It cannot otherwiſe be, but that the bad will murmure at vs, and hate vs; But that which belongeth

Seneca. lib. de ira. cap. 33.

longeth vnto vs, is, To proceede so, that the good may not likewise hate vs. And this King very well vnderstood, that it is proper vnto Kings (as *Alexander* said) to doe well, & to heare ill. Yet are they not to imagine, that that which is causelesse sayd against them, can any whit diminish or lessen their honour; For it stands not with their condition and greatnesse, that none should speake ill of them, but that they should doe no ill: And then no such thing can be sayd of them, but by the way of falshood and lying, which wil soone vanish. Yet notwithstanding will I not say, nor shall it once enter into my thought, to approue the impudencie and insolencie of the licentious *Satyrists* but rather holde them worthy of seuere punishment, especially when they touch vpon the persons of Kings, whom all their subiects, both by Gods Law, and the Law of nature, ought to respect, honour, and obey. Yet withall I say, that it is great prudence, to dissemble vpon some occasions, be they neuer so great, and to be close and secret in their intentions, till they see a fit time to inflict punishment, and when it may be done with least noyse. For some men sometimes, seeking to suppresse the fire, by turning and stirring the sticks, inflame it the more. And if at any time vpon vrgent occasions, and vpon the odiousnesse and foulenesse of this or that other fact, (reason and iustice so requiring it) they shall be forced to vse seuere punishment, let it be mingled with moderation and mildenesse, that all men may vnderstand, that it doth not arise out of anger and displeasure, but out of zeale and loue to the publick good, which forceth them thereunto, & obligeth them in conscience thus rigorously to proceede against them. For (as Saint *Chrysostome* saith) *Qui cum causa non irascitur, peccat*, He sinnes in not being angrie, that hath iust cause to be angrie. And then (saith Saint *Austin*) shall a Prince be happy, when his subiects shall perceiue, that hee punisheth not onely vpon iust ground; but (as *Seneca* saith) *non tanquam probet, sed tanquam invitus, & cum magno tormento*

Chrys. in Mat. lib. 5. de Ciuit. dei. Cap. 20.

Seneca. lib. 1. de Clement. cap. 22.

mento ad castigandum veniat: That it grieueth him to the very Soule, that he is driuen, contrary to his nature and disposition, to let the sentence of death, or other torment, to passe vpon them. And when they shall know, that in this punishment, he only pretendeth the conseruation of the Commonwealth, and not the reuenging of any particular wrong or offence done vnto himselfe. And that, if he doe extend his pardon, it is not for that he is willing to leaue sin vnpunished, but because hee pretendeth the amendment of the delinquent. And more especially, when they see, that he recompenceth with benefits, the rigour and sharpenesse of his chastisements by throwing fauours on a brother, a father or a sonne of that party, whose Head he hath commanded to be taken from his shoulders. Which gracious dealing will assure the people of the sweetenesse of the Princes nature, and his pitifull disposition, nor will they attribute the iustice he shall doe vpon them to crueltie. The conclusion of this Discourse shall be, this; That it is of great importance, that all men should know, that nothing can be hid from the King, be it neuer so close and secret, for the many and priuate diligences which he vseth for intelligence, by the meanes of sundry persons of all sorts, high and low, of all Estates and qualities, (whom the wisest and the waryest cannot avoyde) deputed by his Maiestie diligently to labour to heare, and vnderstand the rumours and complaints of the people, and the good & ill, that is either said or done, and to giue him aduise thereof, that he may informe himselfe of the truth of them, and apply such remedies, as he in his wisedome shall thinke fit. And let all men know, that there was neuer any thing so closely carried, which either early or late, at one time, or other, hath not (by good diligences vsed) bin brought to light, & made known to the king. And therfore my aduise vnto thee, shall be that which *Salomon* giues thee; Curse not the King, no not in thy thought: For a birde of the ayre, shall carry the voyce, and that which hath wings, shall tell the matter. And when thou thinkest thy selfe safest, then shalt thou be taken in the snare.

Eccl. 10. 20.

snare. And let Kings likewise know, that if they haue a minde to see, and know all, they ought also to be milde, and mercifull in punishing, mingling mercie with seuerietie. For it is fit and necessary, that he that desires to know all, should likewise dissemble, and pardon much.

§. II.

Of the Blandure, Gentlenes, and Loue, which Kings ought to haue.

THis blandure, and gentlenesse, is likewise an Effect of prudence, and Magnanimitie, and is a Lordly kinde of vertue, and which hath made many excellent, and memorable in the world. As *Alexander* the great, whom nothing made so great, as that his Excellencie of minde, which he had, in pardoning those whom not onely himselfe, but all the world knew, had iustly deserued his displeasure. Hee, that is gentle of heart, and (like *Dauid*) meeke spirited, nothing troubles him, nothing alters him, but alwayes keepes his iudgement firme and enytre, that hee may the more freely iudge of that, which is worthy of pardon, or punishment, and is a qualitie very proper, and well beseeming royall Maiestie. Many great Monarckes and Kings haue had this in high esteeme, and made it the top of their glory, for by this meanes, they came to be as great in the loue of their subiects, as in their rule and Command. Of whose examples humane Histories are full, but I shall only cite those are that Diuine, which neither adde, nor diminish, by indeering things more then they deserue. Where it is storyed of that great Captaine and Gouernour of Gods people, that he was of the

mildeſt and peaceableſt condition, and of ſo ſoft and ſweete a nature, that the world afforded not his like: *Erat Moſes*
Num.12.3. *vir mitiſſimus, ſuper omnes homines, qui morabantur in terra*: Moſes was very meeke, aboue all the men, which were vpon the face of the earth. And he of all other, had moſt needeof this moſt noble qualitie, for to beare with the bitter taunts, and reproachfull words of that ſtiffe-necked, and vnthankfull people. And this is indeared by Saint *Am-*
Ambr. lib. 2. Offi. cap. 7. *broſe*, and *Philo Iudæus*, both of them affirming; That towards God onely, hee ſhewd himſelfe as ſtout as a Lyon, and full of courage, reſiſting the vengeance, that God would haue taken of his people, but with them, was as meeke and gentle as a Lambe. A generous breaſt, and the courteous and plaine carriage of Kings ouercometh all, pacifieth all, and leuelleth the vneueneſt and crookedeſt diſpoſitions. Which we may well exemplifie in *Iacob*, and *Dauid*. Of the former
Gen. 27.11. the Scripture ſaith; *Erat homo lenis*: He was a ſmoth man. He was ſmooth in his countenance, ſweete in his conuerſation, and naturally of a generous and peaceable condition. Now ſee, what he got by this; Hee gayned his fathers bleſſing, his brothers birth-right, his Vnckles daughters and wealth, and the good will and loue of all men. And of *Dauid*, it is ſayd; *Erat rufus, & pulcher aſpectu, facieque*
1 King. 16.12. *decora*: That hee was ruddy, and withall, of a beautifull countenance, and goodly to looke to. He was of a louely and gracious aſpect, milde, affable, and aboue all, a great friend vnto goodneſſe and well doing, onely with his pleaſing preſence, hee drew the eyes of all the people after him, who ioyed in the ſight of him; And with this, did he winne their hearts, got their good wills, and gayned the kingdome. When by a good and painefull induſtrie, and a ſweet behauiour, the hearts are firſt ſeazed on, it is an eaſie matter to
1 Macab. 3. conquer Kingdomes. In the ſacred Hiſtorie of the *Machabees*, are recounted the heroyicall Acts which that great Captaine *Iudas*, and his brethren, atcheiued in *Spaine*, the

Kings

Kings and Kingdomes which they ſubdued; the nations which they conquered, and made tributary to their Empire; and the great treaſure of gold and ſiluer, which they purchaſed. And all this they effected by their good Counſayle, gentleneſſe, and patience; giuing Kings thereby to vnderſtand, that if they be of a meeke, peaceable, and noble condition, they ſhall be Lords and Maſters of mens wealths, and hearts. And this made *Polibius* to ſay; that a courteous and peaceable King, conquers all with quietneſſe, euery man being willing to yeelde and ſubmit himſelfe to a ſoft and generous diſpoſition, that is free from anger, and full of clemencie. And this is that Legacie which God allotted and left vnto them long agoe in the olde Teſtament. *Manſueti, hæreditabunt terram:* The meeke ſhall inherit the earth. And afterwards, in the new Teſtament, he renewes this promiſe: *Ipſi poſſidebunt terram:* They ſhall inherit the earth. They ſhall be Lords of the earth; That is: of the men vpon earth, and of their poſſeſſions. For, by this earth which God promiſeth vnto them, S. *Bernard* vnderſtands the ſame earth, whereof men are formed. And it is vſuall in Scripture, to call men earth. And thereby is likewiſe vnderſtood, that of this world, which wee heere inhabit, the poſſeſſions thereof, it's gouernment, Scepter and Monarchie, for all this, is but a Patrimonie, bequeathed to a kinde, ſmooth, and louing nature. The beſt Titles, that a King can preſent before God, for to pretend the preſeruation, and perpetuitie of his Kingdome, are meekeneſſe, and gentleneſſe. Theſe *Dauid* repreſented vnto him, when hee petitioned him, that hee would be pleaſed to continue and confirme his kingdome in his ſonne. *Memento Domine Dauid, & omnis manſuetudinis eius*: Lord remember *Dauid*, and all his lowly carriage. Whoſe heart, was not haughty, nor his eyes lofty, but behaued and quieted himſelfe, as a childe that is weaned of his Mother. And preſently God collated this

Pſal. 37. 11. Mat. 5. 5. Pſal. 131. 1.

ben efit vpon him, saying; *Com cumpleti fuerint dies tui,*
2 King. 7. 12. *suscitabo semen tuum post te, & firmabo regnum eius:* When thy dayes be fulfilled, and thou shalt sleepe with thy fathers, I will set vp thy seede after thee, which shall proceede out of thy bowells, and I will establish his Kingdome. Such effects doth the smooth breast, and soft heart of a King worke; And this is so sure a Tenet, that for to keepe a Kingdome secure, and to be Lord of many moe, there needeth no other claime, then that which Loue and Gentlenesse maketh. For, in regard that the heart of man is generous, it will not be led by the necke with a halter, nor will subiects long indure the yoake of a Tyrannizing and proud Lord: whereas on the contrary, they are easily led a long, by a smooth and gentle hand. And reason teacheth vs as much; for by how much the more easily is the heart of man moued by conueniences, then by menaces, by faire meanes then by foule, by so much the better is it to gouerne by meekenesse and gentlenesse, then by force and rigour. Whence we draw this Conclusion, That too much sharpnesse, and excesse of rigour in a Prince, procureth hatred; and affabilitie and clemencie, Loue. Which is that, which Kings ought most to seeke after, as by and by we shall shew vnto you, when wee come to tell you, that these two qualities of blandure, and clemencie, so befitting a supreme Lord, are quite contrarie to that good expedition of Iustice, and that integritie, which God doth require in a Iudge; whom hee willeth and commaundeth. That in matter of iudgement, hee shall not pittie the case of the poore: According to which Instruction, it of force followeth, that a King must represent two contrary persons; that of a kinde and pittifull Father; and that of a iust, and angry Iudge. For, if in his owne nature, hee be kinde, and tender-hearted, there is not that offender, which will not be set free by the power of Intreaties, and Teares, weapons; wherewith

wherewith the hardeſt and cruelleſt hearts ſuffer themſelues to be ouercome. And if he be otherwiſe, what can the delinquents hopes end in, but death and deſpaire? Againe, if he be vertuous, and ſeuere, it is impoſſible that he ſhould not hate the vicious, and grow into choller, when hee ſhall heare of their cruell outrages and inſolencies. Now, what remedy in this caſe is to be vſed? Saint *Ierom*, and Saint *Auſten*, are of opinion, that a King, by his owne perſon, is to puniſh, and premiate, to execute chaſticement with iuſtice, and to mitigate it with mercy. Nor is it vnworthy our conſideration, nor lyable to inconueniencie, that a King ſhould repreſent two perſons, ſo contrary in ſhew, as iudging with Iuſtice, and Mercie. For two vertues cannot bee contrary. And as the Saints and holy Doctors ſay, (and they are in the right) Mercie doth not hinder the execution of Iuſtice, but it moderateth the crueltie of the puniſhment. And it is very neceſſary in a good Iudge, that hee ſhould haue a true and faithfull paire of balance in his hands, and in either ſcale to put rigor, and equitie, that hee may know how to correct the one by the other. The Kings of *Portugall*, (eſpecially *Don Iuan* the third) did vſe to iudge Capitall crimes, accompanied with his Councell, and were alway accounted fathers of the people, becauſe with them, Iuſtice, and Mercie, walked hand in hand; ſhewing themſelues iuſt in puniſhing the fault, and mercifull in mitigating the puniſhment. By which meanes, they were of all, both feared and beloued. And let not Kings perſwade themſelues, that this doth leſſen their authoritie, and take of from their greatneſſe, but giues an addition; and the oftner they ſit in iudgement, they ſhall doe God the more ſeruice, and the Kingdome more good: And in conſcience, the ſureſt and ſafeſt courſe, for that reciprocall obligation, which is between the King and his ſubiects. For they owe obedience, ſeruice, and acknowledgement to him, as their Lord and Maſter. And he vnto them, Iuſtice,

Hier. Sup. Ierem. 22.
Aug. lib. 5. de Ciuit. cap. 24.
Iſid. lib. 3. Sent. cap. 52:
S. Th. 2. 2. q. 137 art. 2. ad 2.

Defence,

Defence and Protection. For to this end and purpose, doe they pay him so many great Tributes, and Taxes. Nor is it enough for him to doe it by others, but he must also doe it by himselfe. For, neither that great Gouernor of Gods people, *Moses*, nor any other after him, is, in all the whole body of the Bible to be found, that euer yet condemned the occupation of iudging the people, to bee vnworthy royall Maiestie nor contrarie to the reputation of a King. I know no other preiudice in it, saue that it is impossible for one sole man, to vndergoe so great a taske. And this impossibilitie ariseth from the multitude of subiects; and in that case, they aduise, That a King should not wholly take away his hand from the doing of Iustice, but that the lesser and more ordinary businesses, hee should remit and referr them to different Ministers, and the weightier causes, take to his owne charge, and be present in person, when they come to be sit vpon, and determined; as formerly haue done the wisest and greatest Monarkes, that euer were in the world. Who did euer equall King *Salomon*, in wisedome, greatnesse, and Maiestie? yet did hee hold it no disgrace vnto him, to humble himselfe to heare suitors, iudge their causes and to doe them Iustice. The Kings of the Hebrew people, were called Iudges, because they did glorie in nothing so much, as to heare, and iudge the people. And in all Nations, this hath alwayes beene the principall Office appertaining vnto Kings. And the Holy Ghost saith; Prou. 29. 14. That the King, that faithfully iudgeth the poore, his throne shall be established for euer.

§. III.

§. III.

That it much importeth Kings, to haue the good Loue and affection of their Subiects.

KIngs, (as already hath beene ſayd) are the Heads of their Kingdomes; Their Eſtates ſerue them as Members; Without which it is impoſſible they ſhould be that, which their name ſpeakes them. And therefore, it is not onely conuenient, but neceſſarie, that they ſhould ſeeke to gaine the good wills of all, ſuting themſelues, (though they force their owne) to the nature of their ſubiects, and beholding them, as if they were his children. Which is the beſt courſe to keepe them well affected, and contented, and to be beloued, and obayed by them. Which they may eaſily doe, if they will but thinke themſelues, that they are ſheepheards, and fathers of thoſe people, which God hath recommended vnto them, eaſing them of thoſe wrongs and grieuances, which they vniuſtly ſuffer; laying no more vpon them, then they are able to beare; ſuffring them, when reaſon ſhall require, to take their eaſe and their quiet; and helping to ſuſtaine them, when they grow poore, and are decayd. *Plato* tells vs, That for a Prince to be good, and to be beloued of all, hee muſt beſtow all his loue, and his whole heart, vpon the Common-wealth; his will, on the Gods; his ſecret, on his friends; and his Time, on buſineſſes. For, by thus reparting himſelfe with all, he ſhall haue a part in all, by all of them comming to vnite themſelues with him. Onely in this good Correſpondency of Loue betweene Kings, and their ſubiects, wiſe *Periander* placeth all the ſafetie, and good fortune of

Kings

Kings and Kingdomes. *Ageſilaus*, King of *Lacedamon*, was once askt the queſtion, How a King might liue ſecure; For that it is oftentimes ſeene, that neither multitude of ſeruants, nor a guard of Halbardiers can defend them from violence? To which demand, hee returned this anſwer: *Si ſuis populis ita imperet, vt parentes filijs*; If he ſo rule ouer his people, as a father doth ouer his children. The King that loueth his ſubiects, and is againe beloued by them, neede no guarde, they are his guard. For Loue, where it is true and faithfull, plaineſheth the knottieſt peece of timber, ſmootheth the rougheſt and moſt vnhewen diſpoſition, and makes all faire, ſafe, and peaceable. It is a moſt ſtrong wall, and more durable, yea then Kings themſelues. With this, no difficulty can offer it ſelfe vnto them, which they may not ouercome; no danger, whoſe impetuouſneſſe they may not oppoſe; no command, which they will not obay. For as Kings deſire no more of their ſubiects, but to be well ſerued by them; ſo ſubiects, pretend nothing from their Kings, but to be beloued by them. And indeede, the one dependeth on the other. For, if a King loue not his ſubiects, he ſhall neither be well ſerued, beloued, nor obayed by them. And as little, if he loue himſelfe too much. For the more care he takes of himſelfe and attends his owne particular, ſo much the more his ſubiects loue departs from him. For the harmonie of a Commonwealth conſiſteth, in that all ſhould liue by the Kings fauour, and they by their ſubiects loue. For they ought to be vigilant in all that belongs to their ſeruice: and Kings moſt watchfull in that, which concernes their generall good: So that none is to haue leſſe part in the King, then the King himſelfe. And becauſe it is impoſſible to content all, by reaſon not onely of their different, but contrary natures, it is neceſſary at leaſt to content the moſt. There are two differences of States, or two ſorts of people, to be conſidered in a Kingdome; The Citizens, (or which comprehendeth all) the common people: Or your Peeres, and ſuch as either

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are persons of Title, or aspire to be. It shall be good discretion & prudence, to procure to content the people, (especially in a Kings first entrance into his raigne) in that which is reasonable and honest. And if their demaunds shall be otherwise, to dissemble with them, and to take time to consider of it, and so by little and little, let their blood goe cooling. This was the Counsayle of your olde Counsailours. Which had it beene followed by that young King *Rehoboam*, his people had not rebelled against him, nor hee in the beginning of his Empire, (before he was scarce warme in his throne) haue lost ten Tribes of the Twelue. The Common people, are alwayes grumbling, and complayning, and ready to runne into rebellion, as being fearelesse, in regard of their multitude, and careless, for that they haue little or nothing to loose. The *Minor Plinie*, after that hee had made a large Catalogue of the naturall vertues of the Emperour *Traiane*, after that he had shewen what great account he made of the Common people, he sayth; Let not a Prince deceiue himselfe, in thinking, that hee is not to make any reckoning of the common people; for without them he cannot sustaine, nor defend his Empyre. And in vaine shall hee procure other helpe, for that were to seeke to liue with a head, without a body; which besides that it were monstrous, it must needes totter and tumble downe with it's owne weight, because it hath nothing to beare it vp. And if Kings will needes know, what kinde of thing the Common people is, and what able to doe vpon all changes and alterations, let them take into their consideration, that which passed at the arraignment and death of our Sauiour Christ, where there was not that Rule of reason of State in the vilest manner, which was not then practized. And the first stone that the Princes of the Scribes and Pharisees moued against him, was the people; for they knew well enough, that without them they could not awe, and feare *Pilate*, nor moue him by their accusations, and false witnesses to condemne him. 3 King. 12.

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In the next place, they had recourse to the particular conuenience of the Iudge, that he should not be a friend vnto *Gaſdry* but should loſe his loue, if vpon this occaſion the people ſhould riſe and rebell; by which tricke they inclined him to their partie, and wrought him to preferre his priuate Intereſt before publicke Iuſtice, and his owne preſeruation, before that which was both honeſt and reaſonable. Againe, it is more eaſie, to procure the fauour and loue of the people, and more eaſie to effect his purpoſe by them. More ſecure, becauſe without their loue and aſſiſtance, no alteration in the ſtate can take effect. This their loue doth vphold Kings, and gets them the opinion of good and vertuous Princes. This qualifieth all wrongs, or makes the offenders pay ſoundly for them, againſt whom none dare ſeeme to be ſingular. Laſtly, for that the common people, hauing onely reſpect to their particular profit & their own priuate Intereſt, cannot deſire nor pretend that, which your greater Peeres, and principall men of the State do, who alwayes (out of their ambition) aſpire to more, and ſtand beating their braines, how they may compaſſe that, which their imagination tells them they want; And by ſo much the more doth this their Ambition increaſe, in how much the greater place they are, and in a neere poſſibilitie of that which they deſire. I ſayd (before) more eaſie, becauſe the people content themſelues with æqualitie (and this likewiſe makes well for Kings) with the adminiſtration of Iuſtice with common eaſe and reſt, with plenty, and with the mildeneſſe, gentleneſſe, and peaceableneſſe of him that ruleth ouer them. Now, that Kings may procure this popular loue, it is fit they ſhould make choyſe of ſuch Miniſters, as are well beloued of the people, that will heare them with patience; comfort, and hearten them vp, that they may the more willingly beare the burthens that are laid vpon them, the Tributes, Taxes, and troubles of the Kingdome, which in the end muſt light all vpon them. For it is not to be doubted, and experience teacheth the truth

truth of it. That the Ministers and Seruants of a Prince, make him either beloued, or hated; And all their deeds or Vertues turne to his hurt, or profit, according as they make slight reckoning thereof, or let them colour it outwith Reasons of State; For he that once begins to be hated out of an ill conceiued opinion, they charge him withall that is either well, or ill done. For, there is nothing, be it neuer so good, which being ill interpreted, may not change it to first qualitie in the eyes of men, who iudge things by appearences. Which is another principall cause, why Princes ought to procure the loue of the people. For, in conclusion, most certaine it is, that the Common people, is not onely the Iudge of Kings, but is their Attourny, also whose censure none of them can escape; And is that Minister, which God makes choyse of for to punish them in their name and fame, which is the greatest of all Temporall punishments. Suting with that which we sayd heeretofore of the voyce of the people, that it is the voyce of God. For his diuine Maiestie vseth this as a meanes to torment those, who haue no other superiour vpon earth. And therefore it behoueth them to preuent this mischiefe, and to winne vnto them the peoples affection by as many wayes as possibly they can deuise, as by their owne proper person with some, with other some, by their fauourites and familiar friends; and with all by their Ministers. For, there is not such a *Tully*, nor *Demosthenes*, withall their eloquence, for to prayse, or dispraise the Actions of a King, either to salue, or condemne them, as is the peoples loue, or hatred. A great cause likewise of procuring this loue, and to winne the hearts of the people, & to giue them all good content, will be, if Kings would be but pleased, who are Lords of many Kingdomes, and Prouinces, to haue neere about them naturall Ministers and Counsaylours of all the sayd seuerall Kingdomes, and Prouinces. For Common-wealths, & kingdomes, resent it exceedingly, to see themselues cast out of administration, and gouernment, when they doe not see at the

Kings

Kings elbow, or in his Counsell any one of their own nation, and countrie, conceiuing, that they doe either basely esteeme of them, or that they dare not trust them; Whence, the one ingendreth hatred, and the other, desireth libertie. Let a King therefore consider with himselfe, that hee is a publicke person, and that he ought not to make himselfe particular; that he is a naturall Citizen of all his Kingdomes and Prouinces; and therefore ought not willingly to make himselfe a stranger to any one of them. That he is a father to them all, & therfore must not shew himself a Step-father to any. And therefore let him still haue some one naturall childe of euery Prouince in his Councel. For, it is a great vnhapines to a kingdome, not to haue any one childe of theirs (amongst so many) by the Kings side, with whom the Naturalls thereof may holde the better correspondencie. For these more speedily, & with more diligence and loue, treate and dispatch their businesses, then strangers either can or will, who must be sued vnto, and will do nothing but vpon earnest intreaty, or by force and compulsion, or like good wary Merchants, by trading for ready mony. Let Kings weigh with themselues, that it is as naturall a worke in them to afforde fauour vnto all, as in a tree to afford fruit And it is a great glorie to a king, to oblige all nations to loue him. For that King much deceiueth himselfe, who will make himselfe King of this, or that Prouince, and no more; Sithence, that God himselfe, whom he representeth on earth, professes himselfe, to be Lord of t'one, and t'other, and of all. And therefore, hee that is Lord of many, should not throw all his loue and affection on a few. Let him in such sort conferre his fauours on the one, that he may not giue occasion of affront and disgrace to the other. For, these generall fauours, make much for the honor and estimation of Kings. It faring with them, as it doth with those trees, when all sorts of passengers, goe gathering, & inioying their fruits.

I say farther that for the augmentation and conseruation of the loue of Common-wealths, and Kingdomes, towards their

their Kings, (a maine and principall point, which ought to be esteemed in more, then other great treasures) it will be very conuenient (and is the Counsayle of persons of great prudencie, throughly acquainted with Kings and Kingdomes) that they should haue some person, or persons of these good parts and qualities, To wit: Men of good naturall abilities, & of great wisedom, to whom in particular, they should commit the care to heare those that are wronged, and male-content. For the graces and fauours of Kings, as proceeding from humane power, which cannot doe all it would, haue euermore beene lesse in number then the pretenders. And therefore must of force follow, that there must needs bee a great number of discontented persons in all Kingdomes, euen in the best, and most sweetely gouerned. Some holding themselues wronged, induced thereunto by their own opinion; others, by disfauours; Some, by bad dispatch; others, by delayes; And some, (and those perhapps the most) by finding themselues deceiued in their pretensions; A thing that ought much to be thought on, though there be few, that take pleasure to heare on that eare. These men, I say, troubled with cares, and transported with passion, thrust themselues into all Companies, great, and small, high, and low, entring into discourse with Male-Contents, and laying open their wounds vnto them; which kinde of men, I would haue to be kindly dealt withall, that the Kings Ministers, should giue them the hearing, that they should temper and allay this their passion, that they should hearten and encourage them, and indeede make shew in some things to goe hand in hand with them, though it be in some sort against their king and Master, seeking reasons to maintaine their part, and that hee cannot blame them if they complaine, hauing so much cause, laying the fault either on the iniquitie of the times, or the careelessenesse of those, through whose fingers these things were to passe; and that, as it was no fault of the Kings, for not

hauing beene truly informed, so can hee not but rest well assured of their good bowells and sound intention to his Maiestie and the State. This is a cunning artifice, and admirable art, against that deadly poyson, of those mens hatred and discontent, which repute themselues wronged and disgraced. And the better will this take with them, if this care be committed to such either person, or persons, that are well liked and beloued of the people, and haue together with their naturall grace, the grace of heauen, a gift which Kings can neither giue, nor take away; howbeit, they giue that grace and fauour, whence resulteth the peoples respect. For, it will not alwayes serue the turne, to bee beloued of all, nor will this generall loue sometimes excuse him from being hated of many. And therefore in this the grace of heauen must bee sought after, and such a man made choyse of, as hath this naturall gift; for by the helpe thereof, he shall be the better beloued, and ouer them all haue the more commaund. This Counsayle, was well esteemed and approued by that wise and prudent King, *Don Philip* the second, as a very necessary, & conuenient meanes for to temper mens mindes, & to get generall notice of all that passeth, either in word or deed and thereupon be able to giue all possible remedie thereunto. And this aduice pleased him so well, that hee committed the execution thereof to him that gaue it him and purposely remitted some businesses vnto him, that he might haue the better occasion to sound mens mindes, and to effect what he pretended by that kinde of course: And in short time gaue good satisfaction by the proofe, and made knowen to his Maiestie how much good was inclosed in this Artifice, for the conseruation of Kings, and Kingdomes.

S. III I.

§. IIII.

Of the ſagacitie, ſharpeneſſe of wit, and quickneſſe of apprehenſion, which Kings ought to haue.

Genebrard, and other graue Authors ſay; That this ſtaly Towre, and noſe of the Spouſe, whereof wee diſcourſe, ſignifieth thoſe which gouerne the Church, or the Kingdome, and ſuch as excell the reſt in vnderſtanding, iudgement, ſagacitie, and prudence. The Egyptians likewiſe in their *Hieroglyphicks*, by a high riſing noſe, vnderſtand a wiſe and ſage minde, that hath an eye vnto dangers, fore-ſees miſchiefes, and takes order for them in time, that it may not be ouertaken by them. And ſuch a one as this, a King ought to haue. And certaine it is, that if that olde Serpent had not had that hap in that firſt deceit, exerciſed on our firſt Mother *Eue*, it had beene needeleſſe for one man to watch another and to be ſo wary and circumſpect, as now they are. But becauſe he, with ſuch great craft, and ſubtletie, did powre forth this his poyſon into the originall fountaine of our nature, it was neceſſary that againſt this his venome, we ſhould take this *Antidote* and *Treacle*, for a preſeruatiue, and preuent one poyſon, by another. And as Treacle, being made of poyſon, ſerues as a remedie againſt poyſon it ſelfe; ſo, for to reſiſt that poyſon which that Serpent by his ſubtletie, ſcattred and ſpred abroad amongſt vs; it is needefull, that men, following the Counſayle, which our Sauiour Chriſt gaue vnto his Diſciples; Be yee wiſe as Serpents, and harmeleſſe as Doues; ſhould ioyne theſe two together. For of theſe two, is made that

fine Treacle, whereof we intend to speake. Not of simplicitie alone, nor prudence alone, but of both together. This is that true and perfect Confection; for prudence, without a sound and harmelesse Intention, is but meere craft and subtletie, (as *Aristotle* sayth) and produceth nothing but trickes and deuises, to delude and deceiue. And a plaine and sincere intention, deuoyd of prudence, doth but deceiue and damnifie a mans selfe. I meane particular persons. For in Kings this want of warinesse, and prudent sagacitie, will procure greater hurt to the generall affayres of the Common-wealth. Too notorious and well knowen is that sentence of the glorious S. *Ierome*; *Sancta rusticitas solum sibi prodest:* Holy plainenesse and simplicitie, doth onely profit a mans selfe. That is; some particular person. But Kings besides their good intention, and sinceritie of minde, must haue prudence & sagacitie, for to resist the plots and traps of the ambitious, who still lye in wayte, watching a fit occasion for to deceiue them, vnlesse they be minded to loose their reputation, their authoritie, and their Kingdome all at once. This is not a Prognostication, broached out of mine owne braine, but vented by the holy ghost; That an imprudent King, shall ruine a Kingdome. *Rex insipiens, perdet populum suum:* An vnwise King, destroyeth his people. The Prophet *Esay*, after he had made a recapitulation of the graces and gifts of wisedome, vnderstanding, counsayle, might, knowledge, and diuerse other wherewith the holy Ghost was to adorne the person of our Sauiour Christ, that King of Kings, and liuely patterne and true example of all good Kings, sayth; *Et replebit eum spiritus timoris Domini:* And the spirit of the feare of the Lord, shall rest vpon him: Now the Hebrew *Rabins*, whom *Pagninus*, and *Vatablus* follow, reade; *Olfactio odoratus eius, erit cum timore Domini:* The pleasant sent of his sweete odour, shall be with the feare of the Lord. That is to say; Together with the feare of the Lord, and all other vertues, hee shall haue an admirable

Eccl. 10. 3.

Esay 11. 3.

Italydo. Clauius.

admirable vnderſtanding, and a dainty delicate iudgement. *Odorari faciam eum*: I will make him to ſent and winde out. So that hee ſhall noſe out any thing whatſoeuer, though neuer ſo farre off, and without ſeeing, or hearing them, be they neuer ſo ſecret and hid, ſhall make a right and true iudgement of things. By this quickneſſe of ſent, they vnderſtand that nimbleneſſe of apprehenſion, ſharpeneſſe of vnderſtanding, and ſagacitie, which a King ought to haue: (borowing the Metaphore from your Line-hound, or blood-hound, who running vpon the ſent, and noſing the footing of what he is put vpon, diſcouers the game he purſues, be it in the thickeſt brakes, and cloſeſt buſhes in the Forreſt.) Hee muſt be ſo ſubtill and ſo quicke of ſent, that nothing muſt eſcape his knowledge, nothing be hidden from his vnderſtanding; he muſt like a Surgeon, ſearch into the depth of the wound: there is no myſterie ſo ſecret, which hee muſt not pry, and diue into, he muſt noſe from a farre the impſtoures, artifices, fraudulent dealings, and cunning diſguiſes of thoſe that go about to deceiue him. When wee will ſignifie ſuch a mans trace, or which way hee tends, Wee vſually ſay; *Ya yo auia olido algo deſſo*: Now I begin to ſmell his drift. I haue an inckling what hee intends. But Kings muſt haue more then an Inckling; they muſt haue a full knowledge of all; There muſt not be that thing in the world, which mainely concernes them, and their Kingdomes, which they muſt not winde and ſift out. And from that high place, wherein they are ſeated, they are, like ſentinalls in a watch-Tower, to ſee, and make diſcouery, of all the cunning practiſes, and diueliſh plots deuiſed againſt them, and of the ſlye and ſubtile carriage of ſuch crafty and double-dealing men, with whom they treate, be they Naturells, or Strangers. For (as it is in the Prouerb) *La miſtad del anno, viuen con arte y enganno; y la otra parte, con enganno, y arte*: One halfe part of the yeare, they liue by arte, and deceit; The other halfe part, by deceit, and arte. And becauſe theſe

workers of mischiefe, arme themselues with the more care, and lye in closer ambush against Kings, and their great Estates; it is necessary that they likewise should stand vpon their guard, and be very vigilant and circumspect, not only for to discouer their proiects, and to defend themselues from their designes, but to take them in the manner; Or (as it is in the Spanish prouerb) *Cogerles con el hurton en las manos*: Whilest the theft is yet in their hands, to lay hold on them. One of the greatest Attributes and noblest Titles, which holy *Iob*, giueth vnto God, is that, where he sayes, Iob. 5. 12. *Apprehendit sapientes in astutia eorum*: That hee taketh the wise in their owne craftinesse. He well vnderstands vpon what point insist the Sophistries and fallacies of the wise men of this world, and at what marke their Counsailes Iob. 12. ayme; *Et consilia prauorum dissipat*: He disappointeth the deuises of the crafty; and scattreth the Counsayles of the wicked. And what they haue forged in their hearts, hee hammereth in that sort, that they shall not fulfill their desires. *Rex, qui sedet in solio, dissipat omne malum, intuitu suo.* *Cogitationes malignorum*: The cogitations of the wicked; So sayth another letter. Hee calls them *Malignos*, that are men of a noble heart, That haue a thousand turnings, and windings. Another Letter hath *Versutorum*; Variable, oft changing, subtile, shifting: being all of them true Epithetes of a double disposed, and crafty generation. *Ne possint implere manus eorum, quod cœperunt*: That their hands cannot performe their enterprise, nor make an end of the web, Ibi. which they haue begun to weaue, but their Counsell is carryed headlong; meeting with darkenesse in the day time, being taken in their owne net, as *Absalon* was with his owne hayre; neuer being able to set the same foote forward againe. Christ, calls these kinde of men, Foxes, which neuer goe on in a straight and direct way, but crossing from one side to another and making many doubles; as he doth, that hath doubling thoughts, and playes, with the Foxe, Wyly, beguile yee. And by this beast, did the Egyptians signifie

signifie that man, which vseth double dealing, and in his words and workes, is nothing but impostures, tricks, and deuices; *Va duplici corde, & labijs scelestis atque ingredienti duabus vijs*: Woe to the double heart, to deceitfull lips, and to the sinner, that goeth two wayes. To deale with these men will be required a great deale of prudence and sagacitie, a Countermine must be made, and a pit digg'd whereinto they may fall, & that like silk-wormes, they might be wrapped and involued in the same bottome, that themselues haue wrought, to their vtter vndoing. *In insidijs suis capientur iniqui* (saith the wise man.) The transgressours shall be taken in their owne naughtinesse. Their plots and proiects shall make for their finall perdition. When the Pharisees with soft & smooth words questioned our Sauiour *Iesus Christ*, what should be done with that woman, whom they had newly taken in the Act of adulterie, made vse of that his admirable prudence and wisedome, accompanied with the simplicitie and harmelessenes of the Doue; saying vnto them. *Qui sine peccato est vestrum, primus in illam lapidem mittat*; He that is without sinne among you, let him first cast a stone at her. And presently thereupon, hee stouped down, and fell to writing with his finger on the ground, to the end, that without making them farther ashamed, being conuicted by their own conscience, they might one by one get them gon, and leaue the poore woman free. These men came armed with the Serpentine subtletie of the Diuell, and presuppossing that he would haue absolued her of that crime, they would then haue accused him for an infringer and breaker of the Law; And in case hee should haue condemned her, they would haue charg'd him with crueltie. But our Sauiour was euery way well prouided for them, and to this their pestiferous poyson, he applyed the pure and perfect Treacle of his prudence. The like trick they would haue put vpon him, & with no lesse cunning, when they demaunded of him; whether it were lawfull to pay tribute vnto *Cæsar*, or no? Conuincing

Eccl. 2. 12.

Prou. 11. 6.

Iohn 8. 7.

them with the very same peece of money, which they brought vnto him, telling them; *Reddite ergo quæ sunt Cæsaris Cæsari, & quæ sunt Dei, Deo:* Render therefore vnto *Cæsar*, the things which are *Cæsars*, and vnto God, the things, that are Gods. It is a great happinesse for prudent Kings, and for those Princes also, that haue not as yet gained with all men the opinion of wise, that some occasions might be offered vnto them, wherein they might catch these crafty & subtill Foxes, And they ought purposely to hunt after them, & to perfourme some exteriour, and publick actions in order to this end: And so to carry them, that all the people may take notice of them. For therby, they shall gaine a great deale of authoritie and reputation throughout the Kingdome. And of all, both subiects, and strangers, be feared & esteemed, for men of wisedome, worth, and prudence. As it befell King *Salomon* at his first comming to the Crowne, when the people of *Israel* perceiued the discretion and prudence, wherwith he had proceeded in deciding that difference betweene the two women, touching the liuing childe, which each of them pretended. Insomuch that when they saw how wisely, & how iustly it was carryed by him, they shouted all for ioy, saying, surely, the wisedom of God is in him; And from thence forth they began to respect, & feare him. Yet mistake me not, I beseech yee; For, I do not say, that Kings should desire, that any ill should betide any man; but that they ought, & may desire, that some such occasion might be offered vnto them, wherein they might shew their zeale and loue vnto Iustice; and manifest, to the world, that they are wise enough of themselues to execute the same. For there is nothing, that makes a King more worthy of his Monarchie, as to win, by meanes of his good Counsel and gouerment, greater credit and authoritie, then what he had, when he began first to gouern: For a kingdome is only the gift of fortune; but this other, argues his owne wisedome, and iudgement.

Mat. 22. 21.

3 King. 28.

But that, which I shall conclude this point withall, is this; That

That this prudence & ſagacitie of the Serpent, ſo much commended by *Chriſt*, ioyned with the Doues ſimplicitie, produceth two effects of much importance in kings, which are theſe Neither to deceiue, nor to be deceiued. Simplicitie, is without welt or garde, plaine & true, and knowes not how to deceiue any man. Prudence, on the other ſide, is very wary & circumſpect, and will not ſuffer hir ſelfe to be deceiued by any man. Nay, it goes a little farther, for it perfecteth the ſimplicitie and being of prudence, and cauſeth a certaine dexteritie in the diſpatch of buſineſſes, which is a great help vnto Princes, and is the only Miſtris to make them to vnderſtand & [illegible] things aright. And likewiſe to ſee and diſcerne the [illegible] ward actions, and the exterior ſences. The eye, [illegible] hand, ſhall not wag, moue, or ſtirre, but it ſhal diſcouer the inward thought. Laſtly, it is it's proper office, (Reaſon aſſiſting and the diſcourſe of the vnderſtanding) to anticipate occaſions, and to diuert in time the euill that may happen; For, (as *Tully* ſayth, and very truly) *Nihil turpius in ſapiente eſt, quam dicere, non putaram*: Nor ought it to be the Language of kings to ſay; I did not thinke on ſuch a thing, I did not dreame, that things would haue fallen out thus, & thus; or that I did not throughly vnderſtand the buſines. For, in Kings, it is no leſſe ſhame to ſuffer themſelues to be deceiued, or to be ouercome by Artes, and tricks, then to be ſubdued in the open field by force of Armes. Kings therefore, being neceſſarily to heare, and negociate with ſo many and ſo ſundry perſons, to free themſelues from the ſlights & ſubtelties of ſome, muſt make vſe of this circumſpection and ſagacitie. *Homer* repreſenteth vnto vs a moſt prudent Prince, who (though vnlearned) yet for that he was very crafty & ſubtile, did gouerne very well, and freed himſelfe from many great dangers. Subtiletie and Sagacity, accompanied (I ſay) with a ſound intention, and a good conſcience, (for that is it, we aime at in gouernment) proceedeth not from ſagacity, and ſubtletie, but from goodneſſe and Iuſtice.

Of the Discretion, which Kings ought to haue.

Bede: in Iob Greg. Pastor. p.1.c 11.



Venerable Bede, and S. Gregory say, of the nose and it's nostrills, that they are the Instrument, or Condvite, to conuay all sorts of ioints vp to the head; And that they are purposely placed in so high a station, that they may the better discerne, or good and the bad. And they signifie thereby the vertue of discretion, which is the knowledge of good and ill, and by Reason helpe, distinguisheth the one from the other. *Per nasum discretio exprimitur, per quam vitia virtutes eligimus, & delecta separamus.* By the nose, is vnderstood discretion, by which wee make choyse of vertue, and reiect our pleasures. And is of that great excellencie, that the Ancient made her *Reginam virtutum*: the Queene of the Vertues; reducing all the rest vnto it. Another call'd her the Mother. A third, the fountaine or well spring of the Vertues; A fourth, will haue euery particular vertue to beare the name of Discretion. And there is not one wanting, who affirmeth that these did not hit the marke aright; for farre better (saith hee) might they haue said, that there is no vertue at all, without discretion. For albeit the Vertues in themselues be perfect and full, and doe qualifie the person that possesseth them, as Fortitude, makes a man valiant; Iustice, makes a man iust; Wisedome makes a man wise. And so in the rest; Yet if the vse of discretion be wanting to any one of these, they loose their *Punctum & medium*; wherein they consist and light vpon the extreames. So the Liberall turnes Prodigall; the Valiant, foole-hardy; The wise, imprudent; and

and the Iust, iniurious. *Discretio* (sayth S. *Bernard*) *omni virtuti ordinem ponit*: Discretion is he that by which euery vertue is directed. And in matter of Counsell the Vote of discretion strikes a great stroake, for it distinguisheth falsehood from truth, things certaine, from things doubtfull, and from amidst what is ill, maketh choice of that which is good. It qualifieth all things, and puts them in their *punto*, and proper being. And the Philosopher sayth, That it is a vertue proper vnto Kings, Princes, and Gouernours, to whom by office it belongs to intermeddle, and haue a hand in such a world of businesses, as require their direction and discretion; wherewith, all they must help themselues for the better disposing, and ordring to a good end the affayres of the Common-wealth. It is a neere neighbour vnto prudence, and bordreth much vpon her, these vertues (as we sayd before) being so inchained, and interlinked one with another that we cannot touch one peece, without trenching vpon the other. And are both so necessarie, that though I should say neuer so much of them, I could not out-speake them.

Ber. in Cant. Ser. 49.

Arist. 3. Polit. c. 3.

But to come to the point; Let the first point of aduise and discretion in a King be not to trust so much to his own wise- and discretion, as to forbeare, out of a presumption of his owne sufficiencie, to treate and Consult businesses with persons of prudence and vnderstanding. For, being that so and so various are the cases, which dayly offer themselues vnto Kings, and so graue and weighty the businesses, whereof they treate, they must be canuased to and fro, and well and throughly debated, for the better ordring and setting of them; making former errours, to serue as land-markes, for the avoyding of those to come. And like a wise, and experienced Physitian, let him apply that medicine there, and in that case, where, for want thereof he had formerly erred. Out of ignorance, to draw knowledge; out of errours, certainties, & out of bad successes, future warnings, is admirable discretion. *Ex praeteritis coniecturis, iudi-*

Arist. lib. 2. Rhetor. c. 9.

cemus: (sayth *Aristotle*) By coniecturing of things past, wee come to make our iudgement of things to come. And it is a very good course to diuine by that which is past, and in Kings exceeding necessary, to draw experience from some times, for other some; And to beware (as they say) not onely by other mens harmes, but likewise by their owne. For, let a man be neuer so wary, neuer so circumspect, and let him watch and looke about, as if his life lay on't, he must either fall, or hath fallen at some one time or other, or hath err'd in this, or that particular, whereby his designes haue beene frustrated, or hath seene, or read the downe-falls of others. And therfore shall he shew himselfe very discreet, if hee shall gather a Doctrine out of these, and make such good vse of them that they may Ierem. 31.18. serue vnto him for a warning; *Castigasti me Domine, & eruditus sum*: O Lord, thou hast chastised mee, and after that, I was instructed. For, (as it is in the Prouerb) *Dolos efficaciores, faciunt vias arteros*: No men, are more their Craft-Masters, then those that haue bin most bitten. Nor is it much, that a man of reason and vnderstanding discoursing with himselfe of forepassed passages, should benefit himselfe by comparing cases past, with cases present, and by experience and knowledge of those which heretofore haue beene remediesse, hee may apply remedy to those, which threaten future mischiefe: Sithence that *Isidor. lib. 4. Epist. Polyb.* brute beastes (as it is obserued, by S. *Isidore*, and *Polybius*) who haue no discourse, but onely a naturall instinct, leading them to their conseruation, make vse of the like kinde of Accidents, not onely when they themselues fall into some quack-mire, or otherwise haue runne the danger of this baite, or that net; but euen then also, when they see others fall before them, they hang an arse, and will not easily suffer themselues to be drawne into the like danger, but hold that place euer after in suspicion, where they haue seene their fellowes indangered, and shunne (all that they can)

that

that hole, or bog, whereinto they haue once either fallen, or beene myred. And ſhall not men of vnderſtanding, and good diſcourſe, which heare, and ſee, what other men ſuffer, as likewiſe the great hurt, which they themſelues haue receiued by the like cauſe, ſhall not they (I ſay) grow wiſe by other mens harmes, and their owne, ſhall not they ſeeke to ſhunne and auoyd (as much as in them lies) the like inconueniences, but that ſome pleaſing thing ſhall bee no ſooner propounded vnto them, but forthwith they will ſuffer themſelues to fall into the pit, and to be taken in the ſnare, that lyes before them, and will not offer to fly therfro, nor forbeare to eate of that deceiuing foode, whereunto they are inuited, and know for certaine, that neuer any did come off with ſafety? He, that by the forepaſſed Accidents, and falls of others, or of himſelfe, doth not take aduiſe and warning, the name of beaſt, nay of a ſenſeleſſe creature, will better befit him, then of a diſcreete and well-aduiſed man. This is that complaint, which *Moſes* made of that fooliſh people. *Vtinam ſaperent, & intelligerent, ac nouiſſima prouiderent*: Would to God, that they would call to minde, and make vſe, of the ſo many, and various ſucceſſes, which they haue ſeene, and paſt through, and that quoting the preſent, with the paſt, they would be prouident in that, which is to come; eſpecially, ſince the wiſe man ſayth; That the thing, that hath beene, is that which ſhall be; and that, which is done, is that which ſhall be done; and that there is no new thing vnder the Sunne. Let the concluſion therefore of this diſcourſe be, firſt; That it is not heere required of a diſcreete King, that he ſhould beare about him in his ſleeue good lucke, and drawe out when he liſteth a faire lot, and a certaine and happy ſucceſſe in all his buſineſſes; for this is only, and wholy, in Gods hands, and not in his. And therefore to require any ſuch thing of him, were great indiſcretion: but that hee ſhould enter into them (if time will giue him leaue) with ſound aduiſe, Eccl. 1. 9.

and

and mature deliberation, and to intertaine them till hee be able to bring his purposes to passe; And, *si sit periculum in mora:* If there be danger in delay, and that they will not suffer the deferring, let him call to minde the successe of former businesses, and let him well consider with himselfe, what in like cases hath vsually succeeded, and accordingly let him settle in the present, and prouide in the future, that which is most fitting, euermore hauing respect to the iustnesse of his cause, relying altogether vpon God, and humbly beseeching him, that hee will direct him in all his wayes. For (as it is in the *Prouerbs*) *Cor hominis disponit viam suam, sed Domini est, dirigere gressus eius:* A mans heart deuiseth his way; but the Lord directeth his steps. Suting with that common saying; *Homo proponit, & Deus disponit.* Man purposeth, but God disposeth. The second thing required of him is; That hee looke well about him, that he diligently obserue the maner of gouernment throughout his whole kingdome, and that he haue a watchfull eye on his publike Ministers, and Counsailours of State; and more particularly vpon those, that are in highest place and authoritie, and haue his eare most; And that hee likewise labour to know the qualities, conditions, and naturall dispositions of those, that now are, and to conferre and compare them with those of former times that hee hath seene, and knowen, or hath heard, and read of in Histories; to the ende, that by the knowledge of the affections, and naturall inclinations of those, hee may prognosticate the end whereunto these tend; and by those passages and proiects of precedent times, make a diuination of the designes of the present. For, this *prudentia in principe, quodammodo diuinatio est:* This prudence and discretion in a Prince, is a kinde of diuination. And let them not tell mee that mens manners, are changed with their names; nor their naturall inclinations with the declination of times, and that there is no correspondency betwixt those that are now,

Prou. 16. 9.

Plutar. in Pompon. Attic.

now, and those of olde, for (as *Cornelius Tacitus* saith, who was a singular Master in this science, speaking of his owne times, in respect of the former) the men are other, but not their manners. They are now, as they were then, and then as now. Well may it be, that for some considerations, men may represse, and couer their affections more at one time, then another, but not, that they are not one and the same, those of this time and that; and that early or late they doe not the same worke, they antiently did. For, from one and the same causes, it must necessarily follow, that we must see one and the same effects. Let Kings therefore see (once more I speake it) and consider well the estate wherein stand the affaires of their Kingdome, how it is in the gouernment, in their Ministers, and their Counsellours, what their affections, naturall inclinations, passions, ambitions, desires, and the like, and make a iudgement of the one and the other, of the present, and the past, and they shall finde, that these, and those, great & small, and all one with another tread in one and the same steps, and ayme all at that faire white, of their owne black and fowle Interest. And weighing likewise with themselues, that some, if not most of those Kings and Monarkes, that haue gone along in that track and held the like course of gouernment, and made vse of the like Ministers, either haue beene ruined thereby, or brought neere vnto it, let them stand aloofe from it, or them, or ought else whatsoeuer whereby they may either see, or know, other their predecessours haue beene vtterly ouerthrowne. For, most certaine it is, that by the effects of Cases past, we may know what were the causes of them; and how in the like, the like may likewise succeede. The science and knowledge of Kings, is like vnto that of *Astrologie*, wherein are better skill'd those of latter then former times, in regard of those many proofes and experiences, which they haue seene, heard, and read. Historie therefore and experience, being the fountaines of humane wisedome,

Princes

Princes ought to peruſe Hiſtories, and procure to know how it hath ſucceeded with others, that thereby they may take aduice and warning in caſes to come; and from this experience and knowledge of mens naturall inclinations and affections, to draw thence a doctrine, for to moderate their owne, and to know other mens diſpoſitions, and withall, to take notice, that the naturall diſpoſitions of the men of theſe times, are not more ſtrong and able to reſiſt their appetites, but are more weake in the naturall, and leſſe perfect in the ſpirituall, then thoſe of our Anceſtors. Whence that followeth, which wee ſaid before, that by the Knowledge of the paſt, wee may prognoſticate of the preſent, if wee haue once ſeene, and made triall, that it fell out ſo with other men of the like ſtate, and condition. So that it may be collected, by what hath hitherto beene deliuered, how neceſſarie it is, that a King, or ſupreme Lord, ſhould exerciſe himſelfe for ſome few yeeres, in the ſtudie of the various Lections of Hiſtories, and may (if he will) come by them, to know the cuſtomes, and inclinations of forraigne nations, as well of thoſe, that are free States, as thoſe that are vnder ſubiection; with whom he muſt indure ſo many demaunds, and Anſweres. To the end that the varietie of Accidents, may no whit afflict, nor trouble him. For it were a kinde of diſparagement to a great Prince, to admire any noueltie whatſoeuer, or to ſeeme a ſtranger, to the ſtrangeſt Accidents, that ſhall occurre vnto him. And hee muſt neceſſarily ſuffer this, and other great inconueniences and deceits in matters of State, if hee be not well aduanced in the knowledge of them, and with the people, with whom hee is to treat. For many are they, that pretend to deceiue him, and will not ſuffer the truth to come to his eares in it's naked nature, but ſhadowed with ſome colour, as ſhall make beſt for their pretenſion. For to cut off which miſchiefe, hiſtories ſerue the turne, which ſupply the want of experience, and ſet before his eyes in a ſhort peece of paper the

the ſucceſſes of an age ſo large and of ſuch a length, that many liues cannot reach thereunto. A thing very neceſſary in Kings, whereby to finde themſelues prepared for the preſent, and prouided for the future. For hee, that hath ſtill before his eyes what is paſt, is ſeldome deceiued in that which is to come. And hee, that ſhall turne ouer the Hiſtories of former times, ſhall meete with the nouelties of the preſent; as alſo with thoſe truths which Sycophants conceale, and ſuch as are not flatterers dare not to tell him. Onely Hiſtories, without feare or dread, ſpeake plaine language to Kings, and yet remaine as whole, ſound, and intire, as they were before.

Another point of Diſcretion, is; That for as much as the aduice and wiſdome, and more particularly in Kings and perſons of great name and ranke, is great, they ſhould not intermeddle in ſmall matters, nor ſhew themſelues in your leſſer occaſions, where the glory is none, and the loſſe of reputation great, not onely if they be ouercome, but alſo if they doe not ouercome to their great aduantage. They ought not likewiſe lightly and without very good ground to thruſt themſelues into buſineſſes of great conſequence, and of that danger and difficultie, that they ſhall not afterwards know well how to winde themſelues out of them: For it argues but a ſmall talent of wiſedome, to know dangers then onely, when a man is in the midſt of them: And ſauours of much leuitie, to put himſelfe deſperately vpon caſes of aduenture. And this is no other Counſayle, then that which a very graue and wiſe man gaue the Emperour *Veſpaſian*, deſeruing to be written in letters of gold, and in the Cabbinies of Kings. *Qui magnarum rerum conſilia ſuſcipiunt, æſtimare debent, an quod inchoatur reip: vtile, ipſis glorioſum, aut promptum effectu, aut certè non arduum ſit.* They that aduiſe, and conſult the vndertaking of great enterpriſes, ought to weigh and conſider with themſelues, whether that they goe about, be profitable *Refert. Cor. Tacit Annal. lib. 8.*

fitable or no for the common-wealth, honourable for themselues, or whether it may easily be effected, or at least without any great difficultie? And this is a Lecture, which *Christ* reades vnto all, aduising vs, that before wee begin any businesse of importance, wee enter into an account and reckoning with our selues, whether wee bee able to goe through with it, or not, and when hauing well weighed the difficulties, dangeres and expences wee must bee at, wee shall finde it to be of more charge then profit, to let it alone. So shall wee rid our selues of a great deale of care, and excuse the murmurings and censure of the people, who will much risent it, that in businesses, wherein the wealth, peace, and reputation of a Kingdome is interessed, Kings should aduenture for the gaining of a little, to put themselues in hazard of loosing much. As likewise, because thereby is giuen occasion, of measuring the extent and limits of the power of Kings, and of plainely manifesting to the open view of the world, that they cannot alwayes doe what they would, nor against whom they will, and therefore must not giue way, that men should enter into iudgement, that their power cannot reach whither they themselues will haue it, but ought alwayes and by all meanes they can, to maintaine the credite and estimation of their power, and greatnesse. The words of our Sauiour *Christ*, are these, Which of you disposed to build a Tower, sitteth not downe before, and counteth the cost, whether he haue sufficient to performe it? Least after hee hath laid the foundation, and is not able to goe through with it, all that behold him, begin to mock him, saying, This man began to builde, and was not able to make an end. Or what King going to make warre against another King, sitteth not downe first and casteth in his minde, whether hee be able with ten thousand to meete him, that commeth against him with twenty thousand, &c.

Luk. 14.

The like I say of competitions, whether this, or that other

doth

doth this, or that better? Though it be in matters of recreation. For all occasions of incounters with Kings are in any hand to be avoyded. And it likewise seemeth ill in point of policie, that they in any kinde should haue any competition with their vassalls. And King *Salomon* sets it downe for a point of policie; for that it is a thing vnworthy authoritie Royall. It is a mans honour (saith he) to keepe himselfe from strife. *Alexander* the Great, being askt the question, whether he would goe and sport himselfe at the Olympick games with the rest of the Great ones of his Court? made answere; yes, if there were other Kings with whom I might contend. Poru. 20.3.

Yet would I not haue Kings so farre to mistake mee, as to vnderstand that they may not enterprise great things, and haue competence with others, that are as great, or greater then themselues, following their stepps and imitating their heroycall Actions; nay, it is a point rather of Discretion, and wisedome, in a prudent King, to tread in the track of their Ancestors, that walked in the right way, and to set before their eyes the good things that they did, that according thereunto they may take the like resolution in the like Cases. The *Romanes* were so religious in the Precedents and Examples of their Predecessours, that they made them the line and rule of all their Actions, and made them as a Law to be kept and obserued, and could not depart ther-fro without the fowle note of ignominie, gouerning new enterprises, by former old Actions. Neither ought a King likewise to esteeme so meanely and so basely of himselfe, as to thinke, that hee is not able to doe as much as others haue done in times past. For if they of olde, had had that minde and conceit of themselues, in calling to minde the braue and noble deedes, which they haue either heard, or read in Histories of their Ancestours, they would not haue imitated them, as many of them haue, in their great and glorious Acts. And certaine it is, that neuer any man

did any such illustrious and heroycall Action heeretofore, which might not be done by another. And therfore, the Actions of Kings being such, as conduce to the seruice of God and the well-fare of the Common-wealth, it will conuene very well (the said circumstances being duly considered) to commence and giue a beginning vnto them, to the end that fortune, or (to say better) God, putting a helping hand to our good diligence and industrie, may giue vnto them a full and perfect end. It was the saying of King *Agesilaus*: That fortune, in great affayres, and high enterprises, neuer shew'd her selfe liberall and generous, but when shee met with noble and generous mindes. And it hath beene often seene, that men loose, at least let slip, many things; not because they are not able to atcheiue them, but because they want courage to vndergoe them. And let them not onely content themselues with the bare reading of them, but endeuour to be like those famous Captaines, in matter of warre; those great Common-wealthes, in matter of gouernment; and those Christian Politicians, in matter of State. For examples perswade much. And albeit that *Homer* saith, that great enterprises are sooner spoken of, then done; easily vttered, but hardly executed, yet let Princes doe their best, which will be no small matter. For thereby, their subiects will receiue benefit, their successors beare them enuie, and their enemies stand in feare of them.

Now let vs draw out of this discourse that discretion, which is a vertue so necessary, that when it is wanting, good is conuerted into ill; and vertue, into Vice; and where a man thought to winne fame, in stead thereof, growes infamous, affronted, and ashamed. For discretion, worketh in man that effect, as salt doth in flesh, which dryes vp the moysture, drawes forth the blood, and keepes it from corruption. As doth salte, so doth discretion, keepe man free from perturbations, or any vnseemelinesse and discomposure, in any Action whatsoeuer he vndergoeth. Christ recommended

commended this vertue to his Disciples, when hee commanded them to haue salte within themselues. This was in the Gospell. But long before in the Leuiticall Law, it was commanded; that euery Sacrifice, should be salted with salte. The wordes, are these; Euery oblation of thy meate offering, shalt thou season with salt, neither shalt thou suffer the salte of the Couenant of thy God to be lacking from thy meat offering: With all thine offring, thou shalt offer salt. Giuing vs thereby to vnderstand the wisedome and discretion, wherewith hee would haue vs to serue him. And Saint *Paul* chargeth vs, not to vtter that word which shall not be seasoned with the salt of wisdome, and discretion. A qualitie very necessary and requisite in all, but more particularly, and without comparison with much more aduantage in Kings, as hath wisely beene obserued by *Anselmus*, and venerable *Bede*. In that safe-conduct, which *Artaxerxes* gaue vnto *Esdras*, wherein was set downe in a list, all the allowances that they were to make him, and what prouisions he was to haue along with him, and though in the rest there was a limitation, *Sal verò absque mensura*; yet was hee to haue salte without measure. Hee was not stinted in that. For in all things belonging vnto Kings, there is such a proportion, taxe, or measure set vpon them; but there are no bounds, no limitts to be set vpon their wisedome and discretion. Let them (a Gods name) haue that without measure, without limitation. For, let them haue neuer so much, it is no more then they haue neede of. God, of his goodnesse, giue them as much as is needefull for them, and that shall suffice them. And let vs extract this, out of all that which hath beene said touching this sence of smelling, that there are two sorts, or two kindes of prudence, (according to S. *Basil.*) The one good, and the other bad; The one of flesh, and blood; and the other of spirit, and life. Of the former, doe the wise men of this world boast. For they denominate that man to be wise, that is crafty and

Mark. 9. 49.

Leuit. 2. 13.

Ezech. 43. 24.

Esdras 6.

subtill, a slye cunning Companion, that by ouer-reaching, and damnifying his neighbour, procures his owne priuate profit. The one (sayth Saint *Paul*) kills, the other quickens; This brings death, that life. *Nam prudentia carnis, mors est; prudentia autem spiritus, pax & vita:* For, to be carnally minded, is death; but to be spiritually minded, is life and peace. Let that then be condemned for ill, and let that suffice, which hath beene spoken thereof. And let vs set vp our rest vpon this, which is such and so good, that no vertue without it, is pleasing and acceptable vnto God, as no Sacrifice was without salte. So that chastitie, and cleanneſſe it selfe, a vertue so high prized by God, and allianced so neerely with the Angels, is of no reckoning without prudence. And that his best beloued, beautifullest, and fairest Spouse, should shee be wanting in this, he would repudiate her, and abhorre her. Wee read in Saint *Mathewes* Gospell, of ten handsome Virgines, well attyred and fitted for to attend the bridegromes comming, whereof fiue of them, for their imprudencie, were shut out, and not suffred to goe in with him to the wedding. So that, it is good for all, and without it, all is as nothing. *Omnia operatur prudentia:* (saith S. *Ambroſe*) Wisedome worketh all things. It doth not onely put mans reason and will in the right way, direct his forces and faculties, and order all his actions; but without it, man is no man, but the Counterfaite, and figure of a man. For therein consisteth the absoluteneſſe and perfection of man, and that similitude and likeneſſe, which he hath with God, in his being capable of Reason, and prudence. By his Memorie he makes that, which is past, present; by his wisedome, he foresees that which is to come; and by his Counsell and aduise, he disposeth and ordereth the present estate of things, which are those parts of prudence, which we specified before.

Rom. 8. 8.

Mat. 25.

Ambr. lib. 2. de bene. c. 14.

CHAP. XXVII.

Chap. XXVII.

Of the sence of Tasting, and of the vertue of Temperance, and how well it befitteth Kings.



Amongst the many miseries, which accompaine man, euen from the cradle to his graue, and from his mothers wombe, to that of the Earth, the mother of vs all, that hungry appetite and precise necessitie of eating, and drinking is not the least. It is (as S. *Isidore* saith) a rigorous, a cruell and importunat creditour; *Nullus hominis tam importunus exactor est, quàm venter; hodie suscipit, & cras exigit:* There is not any so earnest and eager an Exactor on man, as is the belly; It receiues to day, and requires the same againe to morrow. It is continually demaunding that troublesome tribute of meate and drinke, of recreation and pleasure, and all other things necessary for the body; for all these passe, and are registred, vnder the sense of the Taste. Which, albeit it be lesse noble then the rest, yet is it more necessary then all of them. For (as S. *Ierom* sayth, and experience teacheth) without it wee cannot liue long, but without the other we may. *Aristotle* sayth, that this sence directs it's eye to these two obiects; to the pleasure it receiueth in eating, and to the delight it taketh in drinking. Both being very powerfull, and walking still hand in hand, the one seconding the other, taking their seuerall turnes. And their *Signorie* so farre extends it selfe, that it trenches vpon the rest of the sences, and all of them are willing to accompaine him. For Hearing, Seeing, and Smelling, neither like vs, nor last long, vnlesse they haue the fellowship of the Taste. Yet are they *Isidor:*

differenced in this, that the *Species* of those things, that are to be seene, heard, and smelt, are to passe by the *Medium*, or meanes of another kinde of transparent body, as is the Ayre. Whereas those that are to be tasted, are to touch immediatly vpon the tongue, and to haue their dwelling and abiding in the palate, that it may the better relish & distinguish the seuerall sorts of Tastes. And it is worthy our obseruation, that in that part of the Head, which is the mouth, where principally the Taste hath it's seate, though it's Iurisdiction be so short, and so curtall'd, that it scarce occupieth the least space of the Tongue, and that it's delight is so short, that it indureth but for a moment, yet it should come to be of that power and force, that it forced the wise man to say; That it was insatiable. And though it alwayes hath, and doth still shew it's rule and Empire ouer all mortall men, yet does it make it's greatest ostentation in Kings, in Princes, and your great and principall persons, who are most subiect to it's Command. Some compare it to the fire, whereinto the more fuell you fling, the more infinite is it's power, and rests neuer satisfied. In like manner, such a Tyrant is the Taste, that be our riches, rents and patrimonies neuer so great, like fire, it wastes and consumes them, though it selfe remaine still whole and intire, without being lessened or diminished. Nor will I heere cite the Examples of prophane Kings and Emperours giuen ouer to the pleasure of their palate and sensuall delights, to the losse of great Estates and Kingdomes, and the scandall of their subiects; because my purpose is to quote some places of the sacred Scripture, dictated by the Holy Ghost, the Author of Truth. It is reported of King *Salomon*, that being so wise, so rich, and so powerfull a Prince, that hee did in such sort let loose the reines to his vnbridled appetite, as if there were not the least footing of wisedome, or reason to be found in him. Hee himselfe says as much in *Ecclesiastes*, where (as one that saw at last his

Eccl. 2. 2.

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owne errour) hee expresseth his minde in this manner; *Dixi in corde meo: Vadam & affluam deliciis, & fruar bonis:* I sayd in mine heart, Goe to now, (for so the vulgar renders it) I will proue thee with mirth, therefore inioy pleasure. I sayd so, and as I sayd, so I did. *Vadam*; I will goe; That is to say, after my appetite, I will abound in wealth, I will inioy the good things of this world, by which are vnderstood all sortes of delights, and pleasures, as eating, drinking, interrainments, recreations, sportes, and pastimes, and whatsoeuer in that kinde may be conceiued or imagined. *Omnia quæ desiderauerunt oculi mei non negaui eis; &c.* Whatsoeuer mine eyes desired, I kept not from them; I with-held not my heart from any ioy. For my heart reioyced in all; &c. And at last, hee concludeth with this saying; *Quis ità deuoranit, & deliciis affluit, vt ego:* Who, of all the Kings that euer were in the world, could eate more then I? Or, who could hasten more thereunto then I, hauing the world so much at will, and more then all they had? Was it not a thousand pities (thinke you) to see so wise a King to become Tributary and subiect to so vile a slaue as is the belly? I haue often times mused and wondred with my selfe at the blindnesse of our noble men of these times, who making it such a point of honour, and standing so strictly vpon it, not to pay any taxe, or tribute, though it amount not to aboue a blanke, and that they will sooner loose their liues, then acknowledge themselues Tributaries, and yet that these the more noble and greater Lords they are, should the more glory to be Tributaries, and render and submit themselues most, to this infamous tribute, and tyrannicall taxe, which is payd to the palate? What sumptuous tables? What costly diet? What dainty dishes? What exquisite curiosities? What rich and precious wines? What *Regalos*? And what recreations, more befitting Heathens, then Christians? And all, for to pay the Taste this vnlawfull Eccl. 2. 10. Ibi. 25.

custome?

cuſtome? Which in plaine language, is a greater taske, and a greater Tribute, then the pooreſt labourer, or the meaneſt hedger and ditcher is ſeaſſed at. For, when he pays this Tribute, it is onely with a peece of houſhold bread, and a diſh of ſmall drinke, and other the like poore contentments, denying to his Taſte thoſe exceſſiue Tributes, which your Kings and greater perſons pay, being in this particular better gentlemen then they. O the blindneſſe of our Chriſtian Nobilitie! Let me put this queſtion vnto you; when the Collector of Subſedyes comes to a poore husbandmans houſe, to demand ſo much of him as he is ſeaſſed at, if hee ſhould pay him more then is due vnto him by the Law, or any Act ordained in that kinde, or ſhould be earneſt with him to take more then hee is ſet at, would not all men thinke him to be a foole, and a very ſimple fellow? The like errour doe they commit, who conſume their goods, their lands, and their whole Eſtates in ſeruing the belly, and ſatisfying the Taſte with ſuch diuerſitie of delicate Viands, and choyſe wines, when as they may well pay this Tribute with that little, or ſmall modicum, mentioned by the Apoſtle; *Habentes alimenta, & quibus tegamur, his contenti ſimus*: Hauing foode, and rament, let vs be therewith contented. And with this, let vs goe dayly redeeming thoſe ſeaſſements and Tributes, which were impoſed vpon vs by ſinne, and in particular this ſinne of eating and drinking, wherewith ſo often euery day we make ſuch large payments. And if wee cannot quit the whole ſcore, let vs doe herein, like your bad paymaſters, who doe huck and pinch, and pay as little as they can. But this (the more is the pitie) is not in vſe amongſt them. For men, when they are call'd vpon to pay either priuate debts, or publick ſeaſſements, they driue the demander off with delayes, and when they ſhould make payment, fall a caffling, and refuſe to lay downe what is due. But in eating, and drinking, they will pay much more then

1 Tim. 6. 8.

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is due, and presse the belly to take more, then either it is willing, or able to receiue. When *Cæsar*'s Collectors came to demand Tribute of our Sauiour *Iesus Christ*, hee put this question to Saint *Peter*; *Reges terræ, à quibus accipiunt Tributum, vel censum? A filijs, an ab Alienis?* The kings of the earth, of whom doe they receiue Tribute? Of the Children, or of strangers? To whom *Peter* answered; of strangers. Thereupon our Sauiour presently replyes, *Ergo liberi sunt filij:* Therefore the children are free. And if Kings and their children are, and ought to be free from this royall Tribute; it standeth with much more reason, that they should be freed (as much as is possible) from the Tribute of their proper gusts and pleasures, which is much more preiudiciall vnto them, then that can be, should they pay it. For that payment is made but once a yeare at most, or from halfe yeare to halfe yeare, and it is payd in money; But this is daily and howerly, and must be payd with a mans wealth, with his Health, with his life, and with his honour. A man cannot lap vp in a little peece of paper the misbehauiours and misdemeanors which Princes haue fallen into, by giuing themselues to riotous banqueting, nor the excesses, which they haue beene forced to commit, when they haue broke the bounds of Temperance. There are two things (sayth the Wise man) which disquieteth the world, and turneth it topsie-turuy; To see a slaue when he reigneth; And a foole, when hee is filled with meate. And therefore the sayd Wiseman forbiddeth wine vnto Kings. And *Seneca* doth much reproue *Alexander* the Great, and *Marcus Antonius*, for their distemper in their diet; A thing so vnworthy the royall dignitie, that *Cicero* did affirme, that crudities of the stomack in Princes, was a great indignitie, and altogether vnbeseeming them. For, by delighting in drinking, they dull their spirits, enfeeble their strength, and discouer a thousand weakenesses to the world, the concealing whereof did import them very much, and neerely concerne

Prou. 30. 22.
Prou. 31. 4.
Senec. epiſt. 84.
Cicero. Philip. 2. Orat. 4.

cerne them. King *Salomon* sayth in his *Prouerbs*, Much more strong is that man, which ouercomes himselfe, and subdues his owne affections, then hee that getteth great victories ouer his enemies: Suting with that vulgar saying; *Fortior est qui se, quàm qui fortissima vincit mœnia.* And therefore, it not so much importeth Kings, to conquer others, and to make themselues Lords of new Prouinces and Kingdomes, as not to become perpetuall slaues to their proper gustes & appetites. For this doth not fit and suite so well with the greatnesse of their Office, nor is eating in it selfe so generous an Act, that they ought so much to prize and esteeme it. In the booke of the *Iudges*, we finde a Parable of the trees, who hauing resolued with themselues to choose a King, to whom all the rest should owe homage, they came first to the Oliue, afterwards to the Fig-tree, and lastly to the Vine, intreating them that they would be pleased to take the Crowne vpon them, and to raigne ouer them. The first answered, That he could not leaue his fatnesse, to goe to be promoted ouer the Trees; The Fig-tree, hee excused himselfe in the like manner, saying; Hee could not forsake his sweetnesse, and his good fruite, for the inioying of a Crowne; And the Vine, he plainly told them, that he would not leaue his wine, which cheereth God, and Man, to become a King. The purpose and intent of Parables, (according to the doctrine of glorious S. *Austin*, and other holy Doctors) is, to infold in them the truth. And in this is it giuen Kings to vnderstand, that excesse in their Tastes and delicious meates, is not compatible with their Estate, nor doth it become a Crowne Royall, (that wee may say all we can, though we somewhat exceede from the obiect of the Taste) to loose it's time in pleasures, and pastimes, but that in that very instant, wherin Kings take them, they should as sodainly leaue them; in regard, that they haue so many and so great businesses committed to their charge, wherein if they should bestow all their time, they haue scarce time enough. Which requiring (so much as it doth) the

Iudg. 9. 8.

assistance,

assistance, and obseruation of kings, if they should mis-spend this time in sports and intertainements, they must of necessitie want time for that which is more necessary; & be driuen (considering that there is not any thing, that doth cause a greater relaxation, and distraction in the vnderstanding, and that more abateth the edge and vigor of graue and weighty consideration, then sports, pastimes, and pleasing of their owne gustes and palates) to neglect State-businesses, vnlesse they will be pleased to vse them seldome, and with moderation. Insomuch, that they being to repart and diuide the time betweene themselues and the Common-wealth, they should so employ it, that it might not be wanting vnto them for their businesses, nor super-abound vnto them for their Vices.

Yet for all this doe not I pretend (it being the least part of my meaning) to take from Kings their intertainments, but rather much desire that they would take them with moderation, and without neglecting businesses of State, and after that they shall haue fully cumply'de with the Common-wealths affayres. To the end, that all the world may see, that these their pleasures, are not as principall, but accessary, and as an *ayuda de costa*, an ayde and helpe, the better to beare their trouble, & to wade through that wearisomenesse, which the continuall assistance on graue and weighty occasions, causeth. Intertainments and sports must be like vnto salt, wherewith if your meate be sprinckled but a little, and in a moderate kinde of manner, it makes them sauoury, and seasons them in that good sort, that they doe not onely relish, but digest the better and breede better nutriment. But if your hand be too heauy, and that you lay on loade (as they say) without measure, or moderation, it marrs your meate, and makes it sower and vnsauory. And for mine owne part, I am of opinion, that there was neuer any time, wherein Kings had more cause, or greater obligation to moderate their pleasure, then at this present, it being the onely thing that is now

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in request amongst your great personis, and the onely talke that passeth amongst them, how they shall passe the time. My thinkes, that time is here represented vnto me, which the
2 Tim. 3. 1. Apostle Saint *Paul*, inspired by the Holy Ghost, did prophecie, & foretell vnto vs; That in the last dayes, perillous times shall come, (which are now wholly and truly ours) wherein men shall be louers of their owne selues, and their pleasures, more then louers of God; and shall regard more their owne particular, then either their neighbour, Iustice, or the cõmon good. In a word, they shall take more care to fulfill their lusts and their delights, then to please God, and therefore shall fall into innumerable sinnes. The Apostle Saint *Peter* and Saint *Iude*, doe much indeare the great euills which vsually arise from corporall pleasures, & the terrible chastisements which are reserued for those, that giue themselues ouer vnto them.
2 Pet. 2. 9. The vniust (sayth Saint *Peter*) the Lord will reserue vnto the day of iudgement to be punished; but cheifly them, that walke after the flesh in the lust of vncleannesse, that are
Iude 1. 4. presumptuous, selfe willed, &c. And *Iude* hee pronounces condemnation against those vngodly men, that turne the grace of God into lasciuiousnesse, &c. And this hath, and doth still increase dayly in such sort, that the madnesse and dotage of those wicked times seemeth to be againe renewed in the
Wisd. 2. 1. world, mentioned in the booke of *Wisedome*, where a companie of gallants, and boone-Companions, banketting and making merry amongst themselues, vttred this *Epicuræan*; *Exiguum, & cum tædio est Tempus vitæ nostræ:* Our life is short and tedious, and in the death of man there is no re-
Ibi. 6. medy, neither was there any knowen to haue returned from the graue, &c. *Venite ergò, & fruamur bonis quæ sunt:* Come on therefore, let vs inioy the good things that are present. Let vs eate and drinke, quaffe and carowse, and be merry,
Ibi. 7. and let vs speedily vse the creatures like as in youth. *Vino pretioso, & vnguentis nos impleamus.* Let vs fill our selues with costly wines, and oyntments. Let vs be puruayours and

Caterers

Caterers to our owne bodies, let vs prouide the pleasingest obiects for our eyes, the sauoureſt meates for our tastes, the ſweeteſt Muſicke for our eares, the ſofteſt ſilkes for our feeling, and the daintieſt perfumes for our ſmelling. *Coronemus nos roſis, antequam marceſcant, nullum pratum ſit, quod non pertranſeat luxuria noſtra.* Let vs Crowne our ſelues with roſe-budds, before they bee withered. And let no flower of the ſpring paſſe by vs. Let none of vs goe with out his part of voluptuouſneſſe; and let vs leaue tokens of our ioyfullneſſe in euery place. Let God doe what hee liſt in Heauen, and let vs laugh and be merry here on earth. We haue but a little time to liue, let vs therefore take our pleaſures, while wee may. This is all the care, the wantons of this world take, who do not thinke, that there in an eternitie, onely they ſtudy how they may beſt inioy themſelues and their pleaſures, not once dreaming, that there is a God, or a iudgement to come to make them ſtand in awe of him, but as men, that make a ſcoffe and ieſt of that other world, and that other life, they wholly wed themſelues to this. Making that good which *Salomon* layd; *Quod non eſſet homini bonum ſub ſole, niſi quod comederet, & biberet, atque gauderet*: Man, hath no better thing vnder the Sunne, then to eate and to drink, and to be merry; A Language onely beſeeming ſuch men, as are to be carbonadoed for hel, and made a diſh for the Diuell; for their diſſeruice towards God, and their ſeruice to their belly. Which kind of men Saint *Paul* lamenteth with teares flowing from his heart, as being enemies to the Croſſe of *Chriſt*, and abhorred of God, and his Saints.

Ibi. 8.

Eccl. 3. 15.

CHAP. XXVIII.

CHAP. XXVIII.

When, and at what time, sports and pastimes, are worthyest reprehension in Kings.

TO euery thing, there is a season (saith the Wiseman). There is a time to weepe, and a time to laugh, A time for recreation, and a time for labour. *Tempus plangendi, & Tempus saltandi; Tempus amplexandi, & Tempus longe fieri ab amplexibus*; A time to mourne and a time to dance, A time to imbrace, and a time to refraine from imbracing. The Chalde Paraphrase readeth; *Opportunitas omni rei*: There is an opportunitie, or fit season for euery thing. And this opportunitie is a great matter in all whatsoeuer wee doe, for it teacheth vs to take our due time and season. To weepe, when we should laugh, is a ridiculous thing; And to laugh when wee should shed teares, is no lesse. For Kings to play away so many thousand Ducatts, and to spend, I know not what, meerely for their owne pleasure, whilest their souldiers are ready to perish through hunger for want of pay, and their house-hold Seruants runne in debt, because they cannot receiue their wages in due time, this sorteth not with that rule, which the wise man would haue vs to obserue. And is it not I pray you a disproportionable and vnseasonable thing, to spend the time in intertainments, and sports, which is due vnto publicke causes, and businesses of State? In the second booke of the *Kings* is set downe a notable case, wherewith God was highly offended. And the case was this; *Factum est autem, vertente anno, eo tempore, quo solent Reges ad bella procedere,*

Eccl. 3. 5.

procedere, misit Dauid Ioab, & seruos suos cum eo, et vni- 2 King. 11. 1.
uersum Israel, et vastauerunt filios Ammon, et obsederunt Rabaa. Dauid autem remansit in Hierusalem. Dum hæc agerentur, accidit, vt surgeret Dauid de strato suo post meridiem, et deambularet in solario domus regiæ, viditque mulierem se lauantem ex aduerso super solarium sunm &c.
And it came to passe, that after the yeare was expired, at the time, when Kings goe forth to battel, that *Dauid* sent *Ioab*, and his seruants with him, and all *Israel*, and they destroyed the children of *Ammon*, and besieged *Rabbah*. But *Dauid* tarryed still at *Ierusalem*. And it came to passe in an Euening tyde, that *Dauid* arose from his bed, and walked vpon the roofe of the Kings house, and from the roofe hee saw a woman washing her selfe, and the woman was very beautifull to looke vpon &c. What a companie of aggrauating circumstances did heere precede the sinne of *Dauid*? It fell out about that time of the yeare when Kings vsed to goe into the field against their enemies, and to muster vp their souldiars. But instead of going himselfe in person, hee sent forth his Captaine *Ioab*, with all the choyse men of *Israel*, himselfe remaining in the meane while sporting and recreating himselfe in his princely Pallace. And not thinking on those cares, which so dangerous a warre did at that time require, hee rose one day after dinner from his Table, and went to walke in a gallerie or Tarras, that lay open to the Sunne, and from thence it was his chance to espie *Vriahs* wife washing and bathing of her selfe in a place of the like nature, right ouer against him, who likewise on her part gaue occasion to this sinne, for that her husband being abroad in the warres, and exposing himselfe to so many troubles and perills, she should take pleasure in washing her hayre, and in the curious decking and dressing her person in a place, from whence shee might be so easily seene. Whom he no sooner saw but coueted, and no soner made loue vnto, but he inioyed

her. And that he might possesse her with the more safety, and cloake the adulterie the better, and the childe wherewithall shee went, hee gaue order for the making away of her husband; vpon the neck whereof an infinite number of other euills did insue. When Kings wage warre, and their subiects fight their battailes, hazarding therein their liues, or when any other common calamities happen, as of Famine, or Pestilence, in their Kingdomes, they are not then to follow their pleasures and intertainments, but to abstaine from them, and to shew and make knowen to the world, that they haue a fellow-feeling of these common euills, and generall afflictions; For so did the King of *Ninive*, as soone as hee was informed what the Prophet *Ionas* had preached in his Court, threatning them with the punishment which God would send vpon that Citie. And the holy Scripture saith; That the King himselfe was the first man that forsooke his pleasures, layd his roabe from him, and couered him with sack-cloath, and sate in ashes, and caused it to be proclaimed through *Ninene*, saying, Let neither man, nor beast, heard nor flocke tast any thing; let them not feede, nor drinke water. But let man and beast be couered with sack-cloath, and cry mightily vnto God; yea let them turne euery one from his euill way, and from the violence that is in their hands, &c. And this was the Course, that hee tooke for to appease Gods anger. When King *Dauid* heard of the great slaughter which the Pestilence had wrought in his Kingdome, sorrowing exceedingly, that the Plague was so hot amongst his people, and shewing, that it grieued his very heart and soule, hee cryed out vnto the Lord, and sayd, *Ego sum, qui peccaui, ego qui inique egi &c. Vertatur (obsecro) manus tua contra me, et contra domum patris mei*: I haue sinned and I haue done wickedly; but these sheepe what haue they done? Let thine hand (I pray) be against me, and against my father's house. King *Ioram* reigning in Israel, there

Ionah. 3. 6.

1 King. 24. 17.

there was so great a Famine, and so sore a Dearth in that Kingdome, that two women by consent did agree to kill their children, and to eate them by turnes. Which the King had no sooner heard of, but that he was so inwardly grieued therewith, that in expression of his sorrow he rent his garments, (according to the custome of the *Hebrewes* on such like sad occasions) and put on sick-cloath within vpon his flesh; Because Prince *Ionathan* did but dip the tippe of his rod in the hony-combe, when as his father King *Saul*, and all his men of warre, were fighting against the *Philistins*, God was much offended with it. Thereby, teaching Kings, that on the like occasions, they ought to be the first that should abstaine from their pleasures and delightes, signified by the Hony-combe: That valiant Captaine *Vrias*, was a good master of this doctrine, who being returned from the Armie to the Court, called thither by the King, would by no meanes be perswaded to goe home to his owne house, to refresh himselfe, and make merry with his wife, though his Maiestie willed him so to doe; And the reason which he rendred, why he would not doe it, was this; *Arca Dei, et Iuda habitant in papilionibus &c.* The Arke and *Israel* and *Iudah*, abiding in Tents, and my Lord *Ioab* with the whole Army lying incamped in the open fields, without any other shelter, and being in that great danger that they are: shall I then goe into mine house to eate, and to drinke, and to lye with my wife? *Per salutem tuam, et per salutem animæ tuæ, non faciam rem hanc*: As thou liuest, and as thy soule liueth, I will not doe this thing. And not only in the common calamities of a whole Common-wealth, but also in those particular ones of great persons, that haue beene seruiceable to the state, it is fit and requisit, and well will it become Kings, that they make shew of their sorrow, by laying aside their feastings, and all other kinde of solacings and mirthfull Intertainments. When King *Dauid* vnderstood of the death

1 King. 14.43.

2 King. 11.11.

2 King. 3.31.

of that braue Commander *Abner*, he wept bitterly before the people, and commanded, that none should taste bread, or ought else, till the Sunne were downe: saying vnto his
2. Sam. 3. 38. seruants; *Num ignoratis, quoniam princeps, et Maximus cecidit hodie in Israel?* Know yee not, that there is a Prince, and a great man fallen this day in *Israel*?

But some will say, that we do not well in aduising Kings or the Common people, on sad occasions, to forbeare their sports and pastimes, it seeming vnto them, that they ought rather then to seeke after them for the diuerting of melancholy, and banishing of sorrow; Vrging *Plutarkes* authoritie, who reprehendeth those men, who when they are already merrily disposed, hunt after interrainments and pastimes, wishing them to doe that, when they finde themselues sad and beauie, for then they haue most necde of it. Here vnto, I first of all answer, that the reason is not alike in a particular person, as in a King, and a Common-wealth, which (as wee sayd before) are to be considered and vnderstood, as a body, with it's Head. And as in a mans body, the head doth naturally feele the paine of the arme, the foote, or any other member; So Kings, which are the Heads of the people, are to haue a feeling of their subiects miseries, & to pitie the ill case, wherein they at any time are, as if it were their owne. And this was that, which moued the Apostle S. *Paul* to say; *Quando patitur vnum membrum,*
1 Cor. 12. 26. *compatiuntur omnia membra.* When one member suffreth, all the members suffer with it. This is that *Trauazon*, or coupling peece of timber in a Common-wealth, and this, both humane policie, and mans naturall disposition, doth require, that when we see others suffer we should suffer with them in our common cõpassion towards them. And the Law of charitie, goes somewhat farther and would stretch this obligation to a greater and higher perfection, as was to be seene in the sayd Apostle. *Quis infirmatur, et ego non in-*
2. Cor. 11. 29. *firmer? Quis scandalizatur, et ego non vror?* Who is weake, and

and I am not weake? Who is offended, and I burne not? And in that which the Prophet *Ieremie* sayd, who crossing the Kings humour, and opposing his vaine pleasures and delights, and representing the truth of things vnto him, and what was fitting for him to doe, his heart was all on a flame, a burning fire was shut vp in his bones, and hee was weary with bearing, and could not holde, so farre was he transported, and so mightily inflamed with the zeale of the King, and the Common-wealthes good. 2. Cor. 11. 29.

Ierem. 20. 9.

Secondly I say, That (as before hath beene deliuered by mee) I do not pretend, to debarre Kings and Common-wealths of their pleasures and recreations; But my desire is (which I wish with all my heart) that they may be such as may be harmelesse and vn-offensiue, without remorderie and sting of Conscience, and without the murmuration and notice of the people. And this may easily be done, by doing of that which the glorious *S. Iorome* aduiseth vs to doe, *ex necessitate virtutem*, making a vertue of necessitie, but I doe not say *ex necessitate*, but *ex voluptate, virtutem*: That is to say, I would haue them to place their delight and content in that, which is true vertue and godlinesse, in cumplying with the obligations of their Office and Calling, in giuing free and frequent Audience, in hearing those that are wronged and oppressed, in disposing of Offices, in Dispatching of businesses, or in causing them to be dispatcht, and to spend their time, of the most part thereof in these, and the like, cumplying with that of that Royall Prophet: *In virtute tua Lætabitur Rex, & super salutare tuum exultabit vehementer*: The King shall ioy in thy strength, O Lord; And in thy Saluation, how greatly shall hee reioyce? And from thence will follow that, which presently followeth in the next Verse; *Desiderium cordis eius tribuisti ei, et voluntate labiorum eius non fraudasti eum*: Thou hast giuen him his hearts desire, and hast not with-holden the request of his lips. King

Psal. 21. 1.

Ibi. 2.

Salomon sayes of himselfe, that he gaue his desires as much as they could desire, & that he gaue himself ouer to his delights & contents with that freedome and libertie, as suted with the greatnes of so powerful a king. But that which he got therby, was not the content which he sought after, but distaste, irkesomnes, wearines, griefe, & vexatiō of spirit; which he himself hath left firmed & signed with his own name, for an example not only to all kings, but to all the whole world. *Vidi in omnibus vanitatem, et afflictionem animi, et nihil permanere sub sole:* Behold, all was vanitie, & vexation of spirit, and there was no profit vnder the sunne. Who could more giue themselues to their delightes, and pleasures, then those, whom the booke of *Wisedome* speaketh of, who with such a deale of care and greedinesse did runne after all the content, that the world could afford? Yet they say and confesse, that they were so vaine and so false, and such a wearisomnesse vnto them, that they were quite tyred out with them, and are now in hell for their labour, and shall continue there for euer.

Eccl. 2. 11.

Thirdly, I say; That to the end our sports and intertainments may be the more pleasing vnto vs, it is fit that they should be vsed with much moderation, and very seldome. Feastings and banquetings, when they are too frequent, and too ordinary, they cause a wearinesse, and loathing; And as the glorious S. *Ambrose* wisely saith, *Gratiores post famem epulæ fiunt, quæ assiduitate vilnerant*: Feastings please most after fasting, which by assiduitie and continuance grow into contempt. And here by the way occasion may be taken, to aduise kings of the remedy which they ought to apply in matter of Playes & Interludes, as wel in the quality of that which is represented, as in the requency wherewith they are vsed; Comedies being now as common as our meate & drinke. But I see, that that succeedeth now, which did in those more ancient times; Which though they were often banished out of *Rome*, yet the times altering, they came to be introduced and brought in again. And King *Philip* the second

who

who is now in glory, in the latter yeares of his raigne did wholy prohibite them, and for the better furthering of this his determination, he had many, and those very effectuall reasons for it. And that which of late hath beene obserued, is, That neuer in any time, hath there beene seene so much loosenesse and shamelesnesse in youth, as since the time, they haue beene dayly permitted to be playd and represented on the stage, and in those places, where is the greatest Audience, there is the greatest dissoluteneſſe of manners, especially among your younger sort of people; For those their words, Accents, Tunes, Songs, wanton carriage of the body, idle gestures, and actions, performed with so much artifice and cunning, is no other thing (as the Prophet sayd) but to sow tares, and vicious weedes in good ground, whence they ought with much care to be rooted out. And very blinde is that man, which doth not see the danger that there is, in prouoking and stirring vp wanton blood, with such lasciuious behauiour, being able enough of it selfe to awaken the appetite of sensualitie. Euen those dishonest pictures, which neither speake, nor moue, doe catch and lay hold on our eyes, and dragge the Soule after them, especially, if they be drawen to the life, and haue the true postures and expressions of a wanton woman. Questionlesse, they cannot choose but leaue a liuely impression in the Soule. And I know not (I confesse) what worke of pietie, or of charitable Almes for Hospitalls, (to which vse a great part of the Stage-Players gaynes goe) can recompence this harme. For of more weight and moment, is one sinne of theirs, which is there committed; then all the Almes that are giuen throughout the whole world. And we know, it is the Apostles rule, That we are not either to doe, or permit an euill, that good may come thereof. And that which I know is; That they which enter in there, doe not come thither to giue an Almes, but for those ends and purposes, which haue beene sufficiently deliuered and reprehended,

by many holy Doctours, and famous Preachers. Nor doth it boote them to say, That the people, that spend their time in seeing of Comedies, are there met together to see a harmeleſſe Interlude. Which were they not shut vp in that open Assembly, would perhaps be wandring abroad, committing worſe sinnes, which by this Intercourſe are excuſed; for in this one particular, in this very thing, is it plainely to be perceiued, how bad Playes be, since for their defence, they haue needs of the fauour of avoyding a greater euill. And in realitie of truth, they doe not excuſe, or diuert sinnes, but sinnes are there rather learned, the Spectators carrying them away with them conceiued in their minds, by the ones vaine apprehenſion, and the others lowſie and wanton repreſentation, and anon after, bring forth monſtrous birthes. And in very truth, the troubles, and temporall ſcourges, of warre, famine, and peſtilence; the many Cities that are battred and beaten downe to the ground, and deſtroyed; the perſecution and the continuall wants and neceſſities of theſe Kingdomes, doe not require ſo many, and ſuch contents, and reioycings; *Muſica in luctu, importuna narratio*, ſaith the Eccl.22.6. Holy Ghoſt, Muſick in mourning, is as a tale out of ſeaſon. Beſides, we are to vnderſtand, that God ſendeth theſe his ſcourges, that wee may feele his ſtripes, and repent, and amend our ſinfull liues. And therefore the Prophet *Eſay*, repreſenteth the wrath which God had conceiued againſt his people, becauſe they were not ſenſible of his chaſtiſements. *Et non eſt reuerſus ad percutientem ſe, et Dominum non inquiſierunt*: The people turneth not vnto him that ſmiteth them, neither doe they ſeeke the Lord of Hoſtes. Haue yee ſeene the like dullneſſe in any nation? That God chaſtiſing them, they will not ſo much as turne backe their eyes, and craue pardon and forgiuenes of him, that is whipping of them, and goes increaſing their puniſhment? There is no demonſtration of ſorrow in them, but they goe on ſtill in their pleaſures and Iſay 22.12. delights. *Vocabit Dominus Deus, ad fletum, & ad planctum, ad*

calui-

calui tiem, & ad cingulum ſacci, ad eiecti gendium, et lætitia, occidere vitulos, et iugulare arietes, comedere carnes, et bibere vinum. Comedamus et bibamus, cras enim moriemur: The Lord God of Hoſtes calls to weeping and to mourning, and to baldneſſe, and to girding with ſack cloth; and behold ioy and gladneſſe ſlaying oxen, and killing ſheepe, eating fleſh, and drinking wine; Let vs eate and drinke, for to morrow we ſhall dye. God hauing called them to repentance with a deſire to pardon them, they anſwer him with quite contrary exercises, and in ſtead of weeping, fal into extraordinary laughing; and in ſtead of ſack-cloath, put on rich and glorious apparrel; and in ſtead of faſting, betake themſelues to feaſting; & in ſtead of ſobbs, and ſighes, to ſports and pleaſures. Which prepoſterous kinde of courſe did offend God in that high degree, that he threatned to ſhut the gate of mercy againſt thoſe that ſhut the doore of their hearts againſt ſorrow, and repentance. *Et reuelata eſt in auribus meis vox Domini: non dimittetur iniquitas hæc vobis, donec moriamini, dicit Dominus:* And it was reuealed in mine eares by the Lord of Hoſts; Surely this iniquitie ſhall not be purged from you, till yee dye, ſaith the Lord of Hoſts. In the booke of the *Prouerbs* God ſheweth the like reſentment in theſe words; *Quia vocaui et renuiſtis, extendi manum meam, et non fuit qui aſpiceret; deſpexiſtis omne conſilium meum, et increpationes meas neglexiſtis, ego quoque in interitu veſtro ridebo, et ſubſannabo, cum vobis id, quod timebatis, aduenerit:* Becauſe I haue called and yee refuſed; I alſo ſtretched out my hand, and no man regarded; But yee haue ſet at nought all my Counſayle, and would none of my reproofe; I alſo will laugh at your calamitie, I will mock, when your feare commeth. Thoſe, whom neither faire words, kind vſage, louing inſpirations, nor the powerfull hand of God, ſtretched out to puniſhment, cannot worke vpon; nor moue to mourne, nor to leaue off their ſports and pleaſures, & their diſcomposed mirth & laughter; the Lord ſaith, that this their diſreſpectfullneſſe of him, and ſhamelеſſenes of their ſins, ſhal

Ibi. 14

Prou. 1. 24.

neuer

neuer be forgiuen them. And in stead of mourning, and grieuing for them, hee will laugh them to scorne, and make a mocke of them, when he shall see them fallen into the anguishment, and vexation of their perdition, because they would not correspond with his gentle admonitions, not be reclaymed by those his fatherly chastisements, which were for the calling of them home, and to make them to returne from their euill waies. And if (besides all that hitherto hath been sayd) wee shall but consider how deceitfull and vaine are these pastimes and delights, we shall therewith likewise see, what little reason Kings and men that are, (or at least ought to be in regard of the grauitie and greatnesse of their places) of a constant and settled disposition, to be carryed away with such idle toyes which presently dis-appeare, and do not only not giue that fulnesse & satisfaction, which they promise; but rather, as vicious thirst & hunger, which ariseth from a corrupt and euil humour, increaseth the more, the more we either eate, or drinke; so these temporall delights, the more we vse them, the more in seeking after them doe we finde our selues mocked and deluded, and the lesse satisfied.

Let vs conclude this point with the testimonie of our Sauiour *Iesus Christ*, and of that most wise King, *Salomon*, and of Saint *Gregorie* the Great who citing both the other, speakes thus. *Voluptatum, nos fallacia nulla decipiat, nulla vana lætitia seducat, in proximo namque est Iudex, qui dixit; Væ vobis qui ridetis nunc, quia lugebitis, et flebitis. Hinc enim Salomon ait, Risus dolore miscebitur, et extrema gaudij luctus occupat. Hinc iterum dicit; Risum reputaui errorem, et gaudio dixi; Quid frustrà deciperis?* Greg. Hom. 10. *Hinc rursus ait. Cor sapientium vbi tristitia est, et cor stultorum, vbi lætitia.* Let not the falsehood of pleasures deceiue vs, nor vaine ioy seduce vs; For there is a Iudge at hand, Luk. 6. 25. that pronounceth this wofull sentence; Woe vnto you that laugh now, for yee shall mourne and weepe. And hence Prou. 14. 13. is it that *Salomon* sayth; Euen in laughter the heart is sorrowfull,

full, and the end of that mirth is heauinesse. Hence againe, hee that saith; I sayd of laughter it is mad; And of mirth, what doth it? And that hee sayth yet once againe; The heart of the wise is in the house of mourning, but the heart of fooles is in the house of mirth. But continuing our discourse concerning Kings, and things so generally receiued and intertained, as sports, pastimes, and temporall delights; rigorous is that qualification, which the greatest, and most approued qualifiers of Heauen and earth, haue left firmed & signed vnto vs with their owne handes and names. That mirrour of Wisdome, King *Salomon*, or (to say better) the Holy Ghost speaking by him; Our Saniour *Iesus Christ*, the true wisedom of his father, and that great Bishop and Doctor of the Church, S. *Gregorie*, plainely tell vs, That those delights and merriments, which are so well receiued in the world, are but lyes, and mocks, and prognostications of euils to come; and that they haue their reception and residence in the hearts of fooles, and that they remaine banished from those, that are truly wise. These Authenticall persons haue sayd it, and all the Saints of God haue confirmed the same, both by example, and doctrine. And I, whilest I am now writing of this subiect (though the meanest of a thousand) am verily perswaded, that my pen cannot doe better seruice, then to iustifie Gods cause, and to make the faults of Kings the more without excuse, and to let the mighty know, that they shall be mightily punished. And since that I cannot take away the vse of these things, giue me leaue to aduise you of the abuse; and if it shall not be of force to worke an amendment, yet let it so farre preuaile with you as to put you out of your error; And to take it into your consideration, that in the way to Heauen you are to meete and incounter with many dangers, and that the Diuell is wonderfull busie and carefull in setting of his gynn's and his snares, without our laying in the way these new stumbling blocks, to breake our own necks, and to make the way more dangerous, and to Eccl. 2. 2. Eccl. 7. 4.

adde

adde new occasions of sinning, whereby to put the busnesse of our Saluation in the more contingencie and hazard. Here might I take occasion to say something of that Temperance, which should temper and moderate the excesses of the taste: Whereof we will speake, when we come to treate of the sence of Touching. And now let vs passe to another Ministrie, which likewise belongs vnto the Taste, from the Office and function of the Tongue, it being one of it's principall properties, to speake, deuided by these ensuing Paragraphes.

5.

Of the Language and Truth, which Kings, and wherewith Kings, are to treate, and to be treated with.

THe braine, as Minister to all the rest of the sences, sends to the Tongue two sorts of members, the one soft, and smooth, for to taste our meates withall, and to know and distinguish (as already hath beene sayd) the seuerall sorts of sauours and relishes, which the Taste intertaineth. The other somewhat more stiffe and strong, for to turne and winde the tongue; and to moue it with that nimble motion, as wee see, as likewise to hold backe the spring, and to restraine and lock it fast, when it is not fitting for the tongue to speake. This is the Master-key, (as we may tearme it) and the ordinary Mistresse of Nature, which by the helpe of one onely Instrument performeth diuerse Offices; As of the Ayre, to refrigerate and coole the heart, to refresh and comfort it, and to make it breathe the better and with the more ease, and likewise, to forme our words, for without it, it is as impossible

impossible to speake, as without breath to winde a Horne, or blow to play vpon the Fife; The tongue serues vs for our taste, it serues to turne and roll our meate vp and downe in our mouth; it serues to cleanse the roofe thereof, gumms and teeth, it serues vs to talke withall, and to vtter those conceits, which are hatched in the braine, which is it's most proper Office; And though it be written of some, that they haue spoken without a tongue, yet this is the vsuall meanes of vtterance, and the ordinary instrument wherwith we pronounce our words, which are the thoughts Interpreters. I omit here to treate, of good, or better language, or whether this, or that, ought to be in greatest request, since the Master himselfe of Eloquence saith; That in euery part, and place, wee are to speake with those words, which are there vnderstood; And that such a people, or such a Nation, is Lord of a Language, and may by a kinde of prerogatiue power, either coyne new, or call in old words. It being like vnto money of seuerall Kingdomes, and Prouinces, that being currant in one Countrie, which will not passe in another. And therefore that language, ought to be spoken by vs, which is generally approued, and commonly vsed and receiued. And therefore many times men alter the fashion of their Language, as they do of their cloathes. And wee our selues finde, that in this our *Spanish* tongue, wee haue made almost as many changes and alterations, as we haue of our garments, and are able to make two such different languages, that the one should not vnderstand the other. For, wee make such hast to inuent new words, and to take them vpon loane from other Languages, that thinking thereby to inrich it, we come to loose and forget our own naturall Language. So different is it (to some mens seeming) in these, from what it was in former times. For the *Spanish* tongue in it selfe, is an humble and lowly language, if they had not painted it ouer and adulterated it with new words; Not considering in the meane while with themselues, that

Cicero Tusc. lib. 2.

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the best Language (according vnto *Tully*) is that, which wee haue beene taught by our Mothers, and which chaste Matrones, and those that haue beene well bred, speake familiarly at home in their owne houses. And the reason of it, is, for that they hauing not gone abrodad out of their owne Countrie, to forraine nations, nor treated and conuersed with strangers, they conserue the naturall phrase and speech of their own Towne, or Country, without sophisticating their Language with new words, or those that are not of ordinary vse. And therefore it is fitting, that wee should speake in that, which is most passable, and which is best vnderstood, vsing sober, proper, and plaine words; for words were ordayned to that end, that they might be well vnderstood. He speakes best, and in the best Language, that is best vnderstood; not hee, that shall speake in an vncouth stile, and in words that are neither in vse, nor easie to be vnderstood. It is a common saying with vs; *Delos antiquos, nuestros de imitar las virtudes, y delos moderno, el Lenguaje*: Wee are to imitate the ancient in their vertues, and the Moderne, in their Language. And *Quintilian* tells vs, *Loquendum, vt vulgus; sentiendum, vt pauci.* We must speake, with the many; but thinke, with the fewe. Many moe there be, which speak much in matter of tongues, and languages, vsed throughout the world. But I will only treate of those, which imports Kings, and Kingdomes. Such as is that truth and sincerities, wherewith they are to treate, that faith and word, which they are to cumply withall, and that secret, which they are to keepe. Two things (sayth *Pythagoras*) did the moderate men of the earth, receiue from heauen, well worthy our consideration, in regard of the great fauour done them therein; The one, that they should haue the power to be able to doe good vnto others; And the other, to treat Truth. And that in them they should hold competition with the Gods. Properties, both of them well befitting Kings. Of the power, that

Kings

Kings haue, to doe good vnto their friends, and to defend themselues from their enemies, wee haue already signified vnto you, how proper it is to the greatnesse of a King, and how like therein hee is vnto God. But the sayd Philosopher being demanded, wherein man was likest vnto God, made answer; *Quando veritatem sciuerit*: When hee shall know the Truth. For God is truth it selfe: And that man that treates truth, resembles him in nothing more; and it is so proper to our vnderstanding, that it intertaines it for it's obiect, and still goes in search thereof; the contrary whereof, is repugnant to the nature, as likewise to the essence and greatnesse of Kings, from whom wee are euer to expect the iudgement of truth. *Non decet Principem labium mentiens*: Lying lipps, becometh not a Prince. It is the saying of a King; and of a King, that was a *Salomon*, who spake with the tongue of the Holy Ghost; and it is an avouched and ratified Conclusion, that the pen and the tongue of a King, should alwayes tell the truth. though it were against himselfe: As likewise for to teach, and instruct his subiects that they doe the like; as also all others, that shall treate with them. For in vaine doth hee desire to heare truth, that will not deale truly; And perhapps for this cause, the shortest of all other your words in allmost all Languages, are your Yea, and Nay. There can be no shifting, or doubling in them; no going about the bush. These words will admit no other construction but a bare affirmation, or negation. In the fewest words are the least falsehood; and the least quarrell to be pick'd against them. Men cannot expatiate their excuses, as they may where larger Language is vsed. And therefore the other, as it is the shortest, so it is the surest way. Wherefore Kings ought all wayes, and in all, and with all, to treate truth; being that it may be vttred with so much ease and facility, and to suffer himselfe to be plainely vnderstood; Contrary to the Tenent of a sort of vp-start Hereticks, which

Refert Hilar. de varia histor. Lib. 2.

Prou. 17.

which these Times tearme Politicians, who for to make good their Policie, and Tyrannicall gouernment, affirme; That a King may, for reason of State, if hee see it may make for the conseruation thereof, Dissemble, deceiue, breake his word, and plight his faith, without any purpose or meaning to keepe it; fraud, dissimulation, and deceit, of what condition soeuer it be, being contrary vnto truth, and contrary to the Law of nature, which in all that it treates, requireth truth; and contrary to the Diuine Law, which condemneth him, that speakes not the truth, but goes about to deceiue. And our Sauiour *Christ*, calls King *Herod* Foxe, reprouing his wily shifts, and deepe dissimulations, and more particularly, in putting on a face of sorrow before his Guestes that he feasted, when he commanded *Iohn Baptist's* head to be smitten off, it being the onely thing that hee most desired. And hee likewise condemneth those Pharisaicall Hypocrites, who by exteriour showes, would haue that to be supposed of them, which they neuer interained in their heart. And the Angelicall Doctor renders the reason of this Truth. To dissemble (saith he) is to lye in the deed, or thing it selfe. For a Lye, doth not cease to be a Lye, nor to alter it's nature, be it either in workes, or in words. So that a Lye may be found in the behauiour, gesture or semblance, that one maketh, wherewith to deceiue, and to giue vs to vnderstand that, which is not; As also in the manner of the word spoken, or some circumstance to be gathered out of it. Now that which makes it culpable is the doubleneſſe in the heart. Which S. *Austen* subtlely considereth in that incounter of a mans meaning, with his wordes; Wherein there ought to be all equalitie and consonancie; which is not truly kept, when in our words, wee shall say the contrary to that, which is in our mindes. Therefore a Christian King, or his Minister may silence some things, cast a cloake ouer them, and not suffer themselues to be vnderstood, and cunningly to dissemble

D. Th. 2. 2. q. 111. art. 1.

Aug. lib. de Mendacio ad Consentium. cap. 3.

ble that, which they know of them, as long as they shall thinke it necessary to be kept close and secrete, for the good expedition of that which is in Treaty; But a King, or his Minister may not faigne, deceiue, dissemble, or to giue that to be vnderstood by any open Act of his, which he had not in his heart and bosome to doe. All which hath no place in that, which appertaineth vnto Faith, wherein, by the Law of God, we haue obligation, not onely to beleeue, but also to confesse, with all truth and plainnesse, that which we beleeue, without giuing to vnderstand, by the least word, or gesture, ought to the contrary; nor for the least moment of time, though thereby we might saue our liues. Whereby, Kings, and Christian Ministers are admonished, how they may vse dissimulation, how farre, and for what time, without treading in the path of their priuate profit, through which your Politicians pretend to leade them, leauing the high way of Truth, wherewith accordeth whatsoeuer is iust and right, & shunneth all manner of lying, which Truth and Time will at last bring to light. It was the saying of King *Theopompus*; That kingdomes, and great Estates, were conserued by Kings speaking Truth, and by suffring others to speake the Truth vnto them. For, they being those, whom it most importeth to heare truths, none heare lesse. King *Antiochus*, all the time of his raigne, sayd; that he did not remember, that euer hee had heard any more then one only truth. It being the plague of Kings and Princes to haue that verified in their Pallaces and Courtes, which was deliuered by *Democritus*, *Quod veritas in profundo puteo demersa latet*: That Truth lyes buryed in a deepe pit. You shall scarce meete with one in an Age, that dare tell Kings the Truth, there being so many about them, that sooth them vp with lyes and flatteries. *Seneca* saith; That of ten hundred thousand souldiers, which *Artaxerxes* had in his Army, there was but one onely that told him the truth in a case wherein all the rest did lye. And amongst innu-

mernble Prophets, which concealed the truth from the king, only *Michah* made bold to tell it him. And only *Solon* did the like with king *Crœsus*. Seldom times doth the truth enter into the Kings priuy chamber, and when it enters, they scare expresse it in that bare and naked maner as did *Iohn Baptist*. And for this cause, did *Demetrius* the *Philosopher* wish king *Ptolomie*, to reade bookes & Histories, which treated of Precepts for Kings, and Captaines, for they would tell him that which none durst deliuer vnto him. *Socrates* sayd; That there was not any one, that made open protestation to speake the truth, that attained (as he did) to the age of 70. yeares. And certaine it is, that Kings cannot indure to heare those plaine and naked truths, which the common people, and other their subiects are able to tel them, and proue vnto them; nor must they that are in place presume to vtter them, for feare of indangering their authoritie, and reputation; And therefore it is fit, that they should haue some such persons about them, which should both heare, and vnderstand them, and take their time to informe them of them. And this is a rul'd Case, taken out of those great Instructions, and wise *Aphorismes*, which *Mecœnas* gaue to *Augustus*, worthy to be taken notice of, and to be kept and obserued, as coming from so great a Counsellour, and proposed to a Prince, who was so wise in this kinde. To wit; That Kings, ought to giue libertie and way, that their subiects vpon occasion might be admitted to tell them the Truth, assuring them on their part, that they will not bee offended with that which they shall say vnto them. For, it is permitted vnto a Physician to prescribe corrasiues, and to cut away the dead flesh till it come to the quicke; And it may as well be lawfull for a good subiect, a faithfull Minister and Counseller of state, to speake freely vnto his King with respect and reuerence to their royall dignitie) the truth of that they thinke, and to condemne him in his iudgement, or otherwise, when he shall goe about to doe any thing contra-

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ry to Iustice, and reason. Nor ought this to seeme offensiue to any man, nor to the King himselfe, who (if he haue a Christian feeling) will approue in his minde & vnderstanding the reasons that they shall represent vnto him, so that if he be willing to heare the truths they shall tel him, it may turne much to his profit. And if he like not well of it there is no harme done, neither doth he receiue any preiudice by it. And if he shall thinke it fit for the furthering of his ends to follow the Counsaile of any, let him cõmend, & honour that person: For by that plot, which he shall haue deuised, & inuented, he shall gaine honour and greatnesse by it. And it is meete & conuenient, that he should incourage both him, and others with thankes, and rewards. Because this is the sunne, which giues life, and the heate, which warmes good wits, and makes them actiue, & nimble. And in case he shall not admit of his aduise, let him not disgrace him, nor finde fault with him for his good will, and the desire that he hath to do him seruice. But like a great Prince (wherein he shall shew his goodnesse) let his eye rather looke on the good desire and affection wherewith he doth it, then on the effect thereof; As likewise, because others may not be disheartned, for there is not any the poorest plante, that hath not some vertue in it; nor any brayne so barrene, whence at one time or other some fruite may not be gathered for the publicke good.

I conclude then this first point of that plaine and sincere truth, which Kings are to treate, and wherewith they are to be treated, in signifying vnto them, that their own and the Kingdomes safety relyes on searching out the truth, and in hauing those about them which will freely speake it (a thing so necessarie for to gouerne vprightly) and to reward him (though it cost him well) that shall tell him. For Kings shall meete with few, that will tell it them (as they say) for a song. For, considering the danger whereinto they put themselues by speaking the truth, it costes them much. And it is an old and ancient kinde of cosenage

and deceit, which Kings and Princes suffer in not hearing truthes, contenting themselues with applause and adulation of that only which pleaseth their humour, though it be in things of much importance, and such as neerely concerne them. A notable example whereof, we haue in the Tri-partite Historie, (reported by *Sozomenus*) of the Emperour *Constantine* the great, who being one day desirous to make triall of the integritie, and truth of those that seru'd him, hee called them all before him, and told them; My good friends, it is now many yeares, that I haue liued vnder the obseruance of the Christian Law, but now I grow weary of it, for it is a very painefull and troublesome thing to submit our necke to the yoake of the Gospell and to submit our selfe to a Law, that will not allow vs so much libertie, as to swarue one tittle from it. I pray you, let me haue your opinions in it, for we, for our part, are resolued what we will doe. When the Emperour had thus expreſt himselfe, those that were flatterers & Sycophants, and time pleasers, sayd vnto him; Wee thinke your Maiestie shall doe well in so doing, and wee shall be obedient to what you shall ordaine therein. But those good and faithfull seruants which desired the good and prosperous estate of the Prince both in soule and body, humbly besought him on their knees, saying; Sir For Gods honour, and your own, doe not doe so vile a thing, for it is neither fitting, nor lawfull, nor shall wee follow you therein, or serue you one day longer. Then did the Emperour know by this, which were good seruants, and of greatest trust, and presently dismissed the other; *Credens, nunquam eos, circa principem suum fore debitos, qui fuerunt Dei sui sic paratißimi proditores:* Perswading himselfe, that they would neuer be faithfull to their Prince, that would so soone turne traytours vnto God. And if Kings would know how true this is, and the errour wherein they liue, by hauing the truth kept from them, let them at some one time or other (when they see fit) make

Sozomen. Tripart. lib. 1. cap. 7.

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shew to affect the contrary to that, which before they were not vpon, and did earnestly desire, and then shall they see, that those very men, which approued the one, will likewise make good the other, and then will they know how in the one, or in the other, nay in all, they are deceiued by them, or at least, that they dare not plainely and simply tell him that truth, which their hearts thinke. If they be Ministers and Counsellours of State, if they once finde out their Kings humour, and the ayre that most delightes his eare, they play vpon that string; If they be bed-chamber men, or the like familiar Attendants about his person, they haue naturally a seruile inclination, and make it their common custome to intertaine him with matters of mirth, of iollitie, and intertaynment: if they be his freinds, or his fauourites, they also are not without their applauding and adulation, and by so much the more to be suspected, by how much the greater it is. But what if all these shall ioyne to abuse a good King? Then this miserie likewise comes of it. That what a few of them shall begin to say, all the rest will approue it. And if Kings, (as they cannot without being knowen) could but heare their talke and conuersation, they might heare and know many truths, they should know the mindes of many, and the desires of all, and they would reioyce in knowing the truth of that, which none durst tell them. For some, nay many of them, will report what they heare, and amongst themselues speake plainely the truth one to another, so as they be sure that the King cannot heare them. This would be somewhat, if not much remedyed, if Kings would but doe that, which we but euen now deliuered of the Emperour *Constantine* the Great, who would not suffer that Minister or Fauourit that hee had once caught in a Lye euer to see his face any more, but wholly dismist him from his seruices: For both in wisedome and Christianitie, it is to be presumed, that in all or alwayes that hee can, at least as oft as it toucheth his

his owne particular, hee will not make him a faithfull relation, and liuing in this iuſt iealouſie and ſuſpicion of his truth, and plaine dealing, with much ſcruple of conſcience, and in great danger, doth that King liue which giues him his care, or vpholds him in his office. But let vs pauſe heere, and paſſe to that ſecond point, which is the faith and word, which Kings ought to keepe.

§. II.

That Kings ought to keepe their faith, and word.

THis word Faith, in our Common Language, ſignifies Credit; And ſometimes Faith, is taken for that beliefe, which wee giue vnto that, which others tell vs. And other whiles, for that, which others giue vnto that, which we tell them. And to ſay, that a man is ſuch a one, is *Hombre de fee*, a man of faith, is all one, as if we ſhould ſay, that he is a man of Credit, and that wee giue faith and credit to that he ſaith. *Marcus Tullius*, who knew better then all the Latiniſts beſides, the proper ſignification and elegancie of the Latin words, ſaith: That *fides*, is ſo called, *quaſi fiat, quod dictum eſt*, That faith, hath it's denomination, from not fayling in our word. And hence it is, that men hauing ſhewen themſelues honeſt in doing that which they had paſt their word they would doe, we grew in the end, to giue faith and credit vnto them. And this humane faith, being taken in this ſence, is ſo neceſſary, that people were not able to liue, nor conuerſe together, or hold any commerce or traffick, if they ſhou'd not giue Faith and credit one to another. For the conſeruation whereof, it is very fitting, that euery one ſhould make good his word, by his workes, and to ſee that faithfully perfor-

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med and indeede, for which hee hath paſt his honeſt word and promiſe. And by how much the more noble a man is, ſo much the more obligation hee hath, to keepe this his faith and word. And if not, ſee the offence which is taken at it, when men are taxed with this faulte, who are ſatiſfied with no leſſe, then with taking away that mans life, that goes about to take away another mans faith and credit, by telling him, hee lyes. And it is a thing much to be laughed at, (or to ſay better much to be lamented) to ſee the great folly and raſh proceeding which paſſeth in this kinde, and concerning this matter for they acknowledging in theſe their Lawes, and Duels, what a great obligation they haue to maintaine this their faith, reputation, and credit, by alwayes ſaying, and treating truth, vpon the very leaſt aſperſion, ſhadowe, or note of falſhood, they riſent it ſo much, that they ſticke not to fall into a worſe ſinne ſuch as is a very Lye it ſelfe, a loude lye, by lying ſo eaſily, and ordinarily, as ſome doe. I aske the queſtion, which is worſe, to bee lame, or crooked, or to ſay ſuch a one is ſo, when as there is no ſuch thing? Certainly, it is much worſe to be ſo, then to be ſayd, to be ſo. And to him, that is not ſo, me thinkes he ſhould make but little reckoning of what they ſay in that kinde; and ſhould rather indeauour to flye from any default in himſelfe, then from the bare opinion and ſhadowe thereof. Now a lye, being a greater ill, and a farre fouler default then all theſe, men fall ſo eaſily thereinto, and make ſo little ſcruple of Lying, and more Lying, vying Lye vpon lye; yea euen thoſe, that will lay downe their life, rather then indure that men ſhould tell them they Lye, though themſelues know they lye, and that they lye not, who tell them they lye, being onely offended with them, that they will not take a Lye, for a truth; or at leaſt let them goe away with it, without the leaſt reproofe or contradiction, which ingenious natures can hardly indure, eſpecially when they know that they are in

the right, and the other in the wrong. Certainely, of all other Vices, Lying, is the moſt vnworthy noble and gentle blood. And it is ſuch a Labrinth, that the more a man ſeekes to get out of it, the more he findes himſelfe out of the way. So, that a man ſtriuing to get out of one lye, falls into another, and from that to a third, and all of them worſe then the former. Heere I will aduertiſe by the way, that it is a common and vſuall Language with your Courtiers, which may ſeeme to carrye a ſhew of truth, but indeede is full of lyes and falſehood. And this it is: When they will cumply in words, with them who recommend themſelues or their ſuites vnto them, they ſay; Sir vſe you your beſt diligences, for I will doe my part, and God knowes, that I haue, and doe that, which belongs to mee; And true it is; for God knowes, that his part, is to lye, and onely to compliment with this poore pretender, and to doe nothing at all in that, which he pretendeth. I apply my ſelfe, to that olde and ancient language of the Noblemen of *Caſtile*, ingrauen on the ſword, of *Cid Rui Diaz*. *Si, ſi*, no, no, yea yea nay, nay, which is a Leſſon, that is taught vs by our Sauiour *Chriſt* in his holy Goſpell. This is that, which befitteth all men, but more eſpecially Kings; for, to indeare this or that mans truth, we vſually ſay, *Que tiene palabra de Rey*: That a King cannot keepe his word, better then hee doth, or is more preciſe of his promiſe. And therefore I hold for certaine, that that which *Plato* yeelds vnto Kings and Magiſtrates concerning this point, if it bee well vnderſtood, is not to lye, but to vſe ſtratagemes and politicke deuiſes, for to defeate and deceiue the enemies ſpyes, and Intelligencers. And I very well remember that my ſelfe communicating this conceit, vpon occaſion, with one of the learnedſt men, and greateſt *Platoniſts*, that this Age afforded, he approued of it, and did much commend it; for, as concerning that truth and faith, whereof we now treate, *Plato* himſelfe, and all other the good Philoſophers, teach the

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rigour and ſtrictneſſe, wherewith men ought to keepe their word. In the booke of *Ioſua*, is recounted the craft, wherwith the *Ghibeonites*, mooued the Princes of *Iſrael* to plight them their faith, that they would doe them no harme. And though afterwards this their cunning dealing was diſcouered and brought to light, and that all the people were willing, that this promiſe ſhould not be kept; yet the Princes of the people made anſwer thereunto, that they could not but cumply with their word, eſpecially hauing confirmed it with an oath: *Iuranimus eis in nomine Domini Dei Iſrael,* Ioſh.9.19. *& idcircò non poſſumus eos contingere.* We haue ſworne vnto them by the Lord God of *Iſrael*, and therefore wee may not hurt them. And becauſe many yeares after, King *Saul* (out of a zeale to the good of his people) broake that their word and promiſe, there fell vpon him and his people a great famine, which continued for the ſpace of three yeares. King *Don Sancho*, whom they ſlew by treaſon, confeſſed, that that death, lighted worthily vpon him, becauſe hee had broaken his word, giuen to his father King *Don Fernando*, to paſſe the partition made with his brethren; And the conſtancie of *Dauid* is knowen to all, in keeping that his word, which all the while he liued hee gaue to *Shimei*, that hee would not put him to death, according to the deſert of his irreuerent language, and diſreſpect to his perſon. And both diuine, and humane Letters are full of the ſeuere chaſtiſements, which God hath inflicted vpon thoſe, who haue not beene faithfull in the keeping of their faith and word. For, being that he himſelfe is moſt faithfull, and doth boaſt himſelfe to bee ſo, he will likewiſe that men ſhould be ſo one towards another. S. *Iſidore*, with a great number of words, affirmeth; That we ought not to deceiue any man: and that all infidelitie, is ſinne; That no man ought to faile in that which he hath promiſed; That it is requiſite in all men, that their workes concurre with their words, without admitting any excepti- *Iſidor. lib. 2. Synonimorum. D. Th. 2. 2. q. 109. art. 4. ad 5.*

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on more then in two Cases; As when that which is promised, cannot be performed without sinne; Or when the businesses, or the persons, admit some notable change. And hee citeth the example of Saint *Paul*; Who promised to go to *Corinth*, but could not be as good as his word, for those lawfull impediments, which hindred this his intended Iourney. Whence, it followeth; That things continuing in the same Estate, a man may not, for the conueniences of his priuate profit, be wanting to his promise: And to maintaine the contrarie, is to lay trapps against the truth of faith, and to arme policie against the religion of an oath. In a word, all doe resolue, that all promises are to be kept, and that no deceite or faithlesse dealing ought to be tolerated. And the reason, whereupon they ground it, is common; for that *fidelitas est fundamentum Iustitiæ*; Faithfullnesse is the foundation of Iustice, and all Contractation; And that this being taken away, all commerce amongst men, must expire with it, without the which the world cannot be conserued. For they, not resting assured, that that which is promised, shall be performed, they will not trust one another. *Marcus Tullius*, sayth very well, that this humane faith is so necessary amongst men, that, euen Thieues and Pyrates could not liue, if they were not true amongst themselues, and kept their word one with another. And though all, euen the meanest, ought to keepe their word, yet much more carefully ought Kings, and Princes; for there is nothing more vnworthy them, then to fayle in their faith, and word, which aboue all earthly things they ought to keepe, and cumply with all, because they are as Gods vpon earth, and the Head of their people. Wherefore, their single word ought to be as an Oracle, and to be more firme, sure, and of greater credit, then any bond or obligation whatsoeuer that is sealed and signed with an oath. Let the Politicians say what they please, and that it is good and sound aduise, that a Prince, for to conserue his State, may do an act contrary to Faith & Religion,

2 Cor. 1. 19.

Religion, and neither keepe his word, nor oath; yet must I be bold to tell them, that this is wicked, vngodly, and beastly Counsaile, and contrary to the whole Schoole of learned Doctors, and holy fathers; who affirme: that a Prince is bound to keepe his word, though hee take not an oath for the performance thereof, but much more if he shall sweare, and binde it by an oath. And if they will not yeeld to this, let these Politicians plucke off their maske, and let those that be their sectuaries, speake plaine language, and tell mee what they thinke of those Princes, (as of *Sigismond*, and others) who made no reckoning of that they promise and sweare, when as by the breach thereof, they haue beene vtterly ouerthrowne, when they most assured themselues of Victorie. I doubt not but they will hold it for a foolish reason of State. For by this falsifying, Princes shall presently loose all their credit and reputation, and all their cunning shall not profit them, for they will neuer afterwards be beleeued. As it is in one of the lawes of the *Partida. No le creerian los homes, que le oyessen maguer que dixessen verdad.* Men will not beleeue, what they heare from them, though they speake truth. *Titus Liuius*, holdes it a barbarous Act, That Princes should tye their faithfullnesse to Fortune, to runne along with the times, and to shift sayles with euery winde. For by this meanes the word of a Prince will come to be like vnto the *Lesbian* rule, which changeth and altereth it selfe, according to the building, and is crooked, and streight, short, or long, suitable to the bignesse or proportion of the stone, or timber which the carpenter, or mason, heweth, or cutteth.

L.3.Tit.4. Part.2.

August. in Apolog.

But let vs conclude this second point, with this; That realitie, and sinceritie both in words and deedes, is very necessary for all sortes of persons, but more particularly, for Kings and Princes, who should rather see Heauen and earth to fayle, then that they should faile in their promises. Let them first well weigh and consider with themselues, what they

they either say, or promise, that it be agreeable to the Law of God, and to the precepts of the Church, but afterwards, let them infallibly obserue and keepe the same. For in this, consisteth the conseruation, and augmentation of great States; And is that true reason of State, which makes Kings more powerfull, more rich, more esteemed, and more obeyed. For hee that keepes his faith, and his word, holdes the hearts of men in his hand, is Master of all their wealth, and all because they rest assured, that they may confidently relye vpon his faith and word. Wheras, by the contrary, hath insued the destruction of Common-wealths, the distrustfullnesse of their subiects, the scorne and contempt of their enemies, and the iealousie of their friends and confederates, who all hang and depend vpon the truth of his words, and the performance of his Contracts. And this being once lost, with it hee looseth his credit, and after that all goes to wracke with it. For *Malignitas* (saith the Wise man) *euertet sedes potentium*: *Malignitie* or ill-mindedneſſe, (which is nothing else, but a Lye or deceit) shall ouerthrowe the seates of the Mighty. And *Cicero* saith; That it is a most wicked and abhominable thing, to breake that word, which conserueth a sociable life betwixt man and man. For (as *Aristotle* affirmeth) Pacts and Couenants, being broaken & violated, there is taken away from amongst men, the vse, trading, and commerce of things. These, and the like effects, cause in a King, either the keeping, or loosing of his Credit. But of no lesse importance is that third point, which followeth in the next place, concerning secrecie.

Wisd. 5. 14.

§. III.

§. III.

Of that secrecie which Kings, and their Ministers ought to keepe.

IT is likewise the Tongues Office, not to holde it's peace. And as it is not of the least difficulties, so in nothing more doth mans wisedome and prudence shew it selfe. *Plato*, will not haue him held to be a wise man, that knowes not how to hold his peace. *Diogenes Laertius*, that there is no greater token of a Foole, then to be loose-tongued, and lauish of talke. *Neminem stultum tacere posse:* It is impossible for a foole, to hold his peace. The Ancient, esteem'd him a God vpon earth, that was a friend to silence, representing him in a creature of that Region, which hath no tongue. Implying thereby, that that man is the liuely image and true picture of God, whose discretion teacheth him, how, when, and where, to holde his peace: Alluding happily vnto that of *Dauid*, who finding eyes, eares, and hands in God, seemeth not to finde that hee had a tongue. For, as hee is God, he neuer spake but once. *Semel locutus est Deus:* God hath spoaken once. And the Spouse speaketh much of all the parts of her beloued, but of his Tongue, as if hee had no such thing. And he, that shall not speake a word out of season, nor say any more then what is fitting, it may bee sayd of that man, that hee hath no Tongue. And therefore did that holy King *Dauid* so often beg of God, that hee would open his mouth with his owne hand, and so order his Tongue that he might not speake, but when he would

Diog. Laert. de Vit. Philos.
Plin. lib. 8. natur. hist. cap. 25
Couarruuias.
Psal. 62. 11.

would haue him, and that he would teach him what, and how to speake. [illegible] *qui non solum, quod loquitur, sed etiam quando, & vbi, & cui loquatur, attendit:* God opens that mans lips, who attendeth not onely what he speaketh, but also when, where, and to whom he speaketh. *Merito igitur sapiens est* (addeth the same holy father) *qui accipit a Domino, quo tempore loquendum sit:* Deseruedly therefore is he to be held a wise man, who receiueth instruction from the Lord, when he ought to speake. And the Scripture saith; *Vir sapiens tacebit vsque ad tempus.* A wise man will holde his peace vntill his time. May *Christ* himselfe, that King of Kings
Isay.50.4. saith of himselfe by the Prophet *Esay*; that his eternall Father gaue him an exceeding wise and prudent tongue. *Dedit mihi Dominus linguam eruditam*: The Lord God, hath giuen me a learned tongue, Or, as the Hebrew renders it, *Linguam discipulam*, The tongue of the learned, Not an ordinary tongue, but such a Tongue, wherin was to be found the wisedome, and prudence of all the wise men of the world, and from whence all might learne. *Vt sciam sustentare eum, qui lapsus est verbo*: That I may know how to vphold him that hath stept in his word; Or (as the 70. translate it) *Vt sciam quando oportet loqui verbum*: That I should know how to speake a word in season to him that is weary. So that a wise, discrete, and prudent Tongue, and such a one as is giuen by God, is that, which knowes when to speake, and when to hold it's peace. Teaching Kings, who are in a manner Gods, at least Gods Lieutenants, should in this particular imitate him. That they should haue a wise Tongue, to know when to open the doore of the lips, and when to shut them, what to vtter, and what to conceale. For, this is the Learning and wisedome of the Tongue, either to speake, or be silent, as shall fare best with time, and occasion. *Tempus tacendi, & tempus loquendi*: It is
Eccl.3.7. *Salomons*; A time to keepe silence, and a time to speake.

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And in Kings, this is ſo much the more important, by how much the more graue and weighty are thoſe buſineſſes, which are treated with them. For it doth not onely benefit them, in not hauing their purpoſes preuented, nor their deſignes ouerthrowne, but likewiſe winn's them much authoritie and credit. For the world will ſtand as it were aſtonished and amazed, and men will wonder at that, which they both doe, and ſay, and out of euery kinde of geſture, or word of theirs, will make a Myſtery, deliuer their iudgements, and draw thence a thouſand diſcourſes, all which are but cranes and pullyes to make them mount higher in opinion, and reputation. Likewiſe, when Miniſters ſhall take notice, that their King knowes how to heare, and how to hold his peace, and in it's due time, to execute his intentions, they liue in a great deale the more awe and feare, leſt ſuch and ſuch things (wherein they doe amiſſe) might come to his knowledge: And when they ſee, that he knowes how to conceale a ſecret, till it's fit time and ſeaſon, it keepes them within their Compaſſe, and is the only bridle, that reſtraines them from doing ill, either by way of oppreſſion (whereunto great Miniſters are too much ſubiect) or otherwiſe. And therefore, it ſhall much concerne a King, not onely to be ſecret in thoſe things, which might cauſe ſome inconuenience, if he ſhould ſpeake of them, and make them knowen, but alſo in thoſe things, which bring no profit by their publication. For, if they ſhall once perceiue, that their King cannot conceale, what is deliuered vnto him vnder the ſeale of ſilence, in preiudice of this, or that particular party, no man will dare to informe, and aduiſe him of that, which may redound to Gods ſeruice, and the good of the Common-wealth. And ſo like bad gameſters, they will for want of keeping cloſe their cardes, let their contrary winne the game, by diſcouering their hand. A Kings heart, ſhould be ſo deepe and profound, that none ſhould be able to pry into it, nor to know what is hidden there.

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And therefore he must haue such a secret heart, as S. *Austen* speakes of, *Cor altum*. That is, *Cor secretum*, or (as others reade it) *profundum*, an inscrutable heart, or so deepe, that none shall be able to diue into it. And some compare a kings heart vnto *punctum*, a little point or pricke, which to diuide, or to draw any thing out of it, is (if not impossible at least very difficult. The heart of a king, must be closed and shut vp, like this *punctum*, whence there shal be an impossibility, or at least a great deale of difficulty, in extracting any one word, or secret, recommended vnto him. *Salomon* sayth; That the hearts of Kings, are in the hands of God; and are guided & directed by him. And that therfore their secretes & mysteries, are not to be diuulged, and made common, no not to his neerest Minions and Fauourites; & when at most, but to some one particular *priuado*, and that vpon very good & iust cause. Our Sauiour *Christ*, once, (vpon necessary occasiō) discouered a secret to his great *Priuado*, or fauourite, S. *Iohn*, but it was with these circumstances; That hee told it him in his eare, forbidding him to speake therof vnto any. And because, neither by signes, or any other outward demonstration, he might make it knowen, he bound vp all his senses in a deepe and profound sleepe, to the end, that by none of them, he might expresse that, which behooued him to conceale. Great is the importancie of secrecie, & the authoritie which it giues to the iudgements, & motiues of those that gouerne. For, if all might know the causes, which moue a Prince to make this or that prouision, to giue, this this or iudgement, to pardon, or to punish, to craue, or to giue, many censures wold passe vpō it, & it might cause many scandalls & alterations in a Cōmon-wealth. And therfore it much concerneth so supreme a Maiesty not to suffer the secret which is shut vp in his bosome, to be published to the world. And in some cases, it may come to be a mortal sin, when such things as are aduertised a king, & such Memorials as are giuen him firmed & signed with this or that mans hand, he shal shew them to the parties, whom they touch and concerne, be they

August. Psal. 63. ver. 7.

Prou. 21. 1.

Ministers

sters, or fauourites, in regard of the great hurt, oppositiõ, and dissention, which there-fro may arise. But hee may doe this, in case it may well sort with the secret it selfe, to take out the pithe and substance of it, and without shewing any firme, or vttring any word whereby the Author may be knowen, and shew it to the Delinquent (if so he thinke fit) for his correction, and amendment. And when hee findes that to be true which hath beene told him, and that it cannot be denyed, let him apply a due and fitting remedy. For many times Dissimulation in the Prince (not seeming to take notice of a fault) causeth but the more dissoluteneſſe in the subiect.

This is so farre forth, as concerneth Kings, for whom may suffice, that aduice of *Celius Rodiginus*, who tells them more at large, how considerate they ought to be in this particular. For many Cities and Kingdomes haue beene lost and ouerthrowen for want of secrecie. *Celius. Lib. 13. Lectio antiq. c. 5.*

But let vs now begin to speake of Ministers, and Secretaries of State, in whom vsually lyes the greater fault. And to whom, by their Office, secrecie more properly belongs. The name it selfe expresing as much. For, out of that obligation which they haue to be secret, they are called Secretaries, and are the Archiues and Cabinets of the secrets of the King, and the kingdom. Though this name through the soothing and flattery of your suitors, hath falsely extended it selfe to those, which neither keepe secret, nor treate of such businesses as require secrecie. And it is fit, that these names should not be thus confounded, or that that Honor and Title should be giuen to him, to whom by Office it not appertaineth. Secretaryes I say, shut vp with that secrecie, as was that booke of those secret Mysteries which Saint *Iohn* found sealed with seuen seales, which none, but the King himselfe could open. *Sacramentum Regis bonum est* (sayd the Angel *Raphael* to *Toby*) *opera autem Dei reuelare, honorificum est*: It is good to keepe close the se- *He means the Escriuanos*, and Notaries of *Spaine*. *Apoc. 5. 1.* *Tobit. 12. 7.*

cret of a King, but it is honourable to reueale the worke of God. Which is as much to say, as that the determinations of a King should be kept secret, but that the effects and execution of them should be published and made manifest, when it is fitting for the seruice of God, and the Kingdome. For a Kings secret, is his heart, and till that God shall moue him to expresse it by some outward worke, there is no reason that any one else should discouer it. To reueale a secret, is by the Lawes of God, and Nature, and by all men generally condemned, and all Lawes, and Nations, doe seuerely punish the same, for the great hurt, and many inconueniences, that may follow thereupon. The Lawes, they are defrauded, the resolutions of Kings, they are hindred; their enemies, they are aduertised; their friends they are offended; mens mindes, they are perturbed; kingdomes, they are altered; peace; that is lost; the delinquents, they are not punished; And lastly all publicke and priuate businesses are ouerthrowen. And there is not any thing, that goes crosse, or amisse in a State, or that miscarryes or is lost, but by the reueaIing of the secrets of Kings, and of their Counsells. As that great Chancellour *Gerson* told the King of *France*, touching the ill successe of some things in his time, for that some of his Ministers did publish that which was treated and determined at the Counsell-Table. And the like befell *Enrique*, King of *Portugall*; Who, because hee was deafe, they were faigne to speake so loud vnto him, that all men might heare what they said. *Valerius Maximus* much commendeth the secrecie of the *Romane* Senate, and says, that for this cause, that Consistorie was held in high esteeme, and that it was a great occasion of inlarging their Empire. And they, and the *Persians*, did keepe with that faith the secrets of their Kings, that there was no feare of plumping them, or being able to draw any thing from them, no not so much as the least word, whereby to discouer the businesse. Vse, together with the feare

Valer. lib. 2. Mirabi. Capola; Simancus de rep. lib. 7. cap. 14. & cap. 15.

feare of punishment, and hazard of their liues, had so setled and confirmed this silence in them. For, they did punish no offence with greater rigour, then that of vnfaithfulnesse, in matters of secrecie; and with a great deale of reason, because it is in so neere a degree vnto Treason; and I thinke, I should not say amisse, if I stiled it in the highest. *Regis proditor, & Patriæ euersor æstimandus est* (saith *Osorius*) such a one, is to be hled a Traytour to the King, and a subuerter of the state. A Law of the *Partida* sayth; That those Counsellours, which reueale their Kings secretes, commit treason, yea, though secrecie be not inioyned them, nor they charged there with. But hee, that takes an oath to be secret, and reuealeth any thing contrary thereunto; besides that he is a periur'd and infamous person, hee sinnes mortally, and is bound to satisfaction of all the harme, that shall happen thereby, and incurres the punishment of depriuation of his Office. For, if hee be sworne to secrecie, or bee made a Secretary, and hath silence for the seale of his Office, he is iustly depriued thereof, if he vse it amisse. And the Law of the *Recopilation* saith, that hee is lyable to that punishment which the King will inflict vpon him, according to the qualitie of the offence, or the hurt thereby receiued. And the Imperiall Law, (chapter the first, *Quibus modis feudum amittit.*) that hee shall loose the fee, which hee holdes of his Lord. *Plutarke* reporteth of *Philipides*, that he being in great grace and fauour with *Lysimachus*, King of *Lacædemonia*, begged no other boone of him but this; That he would not recommend any secret vnto him; As one that knew very well that saying of one of the wise men of *Greece*: That there was not any thing of more difficultie, then to be silent in matters of secrecie. As also, for that it being communicated to others, though it come to be discouered by anothers fault, and none of his, yet the imputation is laid as well vpon him, that was silent, as on him that reuealed; and so must suffer for another mans errour. And in case any

Osor. lib. 8. de Regis institut. one.

Ley. 5. Tit. 9. p. 2. in fine. Ibi Faria traycion. Excepto en caso de traycion y heregia, tales qual por doctrina de santo Thomas se puedes dist. 21. & dist. 10. q. 2. artic. 3. q. 1. ad 2. L. 5. Tit. lib. 2.

man ſhall incurre any iuſt ſuſpition thereof, let the King withdraw his fauour from him, diſmiſſe him the Court, and put another in his place, that ſhall be more ſecret; for that which they moſt pretend, is their fidelitie in this point. And howbeit, they haue neuer ſo many other vertues, and good abilities, yet wanting this, they want all, and are of no vſe, no more then were thoſe veſſells in Gods Houſe, which had no Couers to their mouthes. For ſuch open veſſells are they, that cannot keepe cloſe a ſecret, and altogether vnworthy the ſeruice of kings. The ſubſtance and vertue of your flowres goes out in vapours and exhalations of the Lymbecke; And heate paſſeth out through the mouth of the fornace: and a ſecret from betweene the lipps of a Foole, it being a kinde of diſeaſe amongſt thoſe that know leaſt, to talke moſt, and to vent through their mouth, whatſoeuer they haue in their heart. *In ore* Eccl 21.26. *ſatuorum, Cor illorum* (ſayth the Wiſe man) *& in corde ſapientium, os illorum*: The heart of fooles is in their mouth, but the mouth of the wiſe is in their hearts. *Co-* Pſal.72. *gitauerunt, et locuti ſunt.* Looke what a Foole hath in his head, hee will preſently out with it. But a wiſe man, will not ſpeake all that hee knowes. And therfore your Naturalliſts ſay; that Nature placed two vaines in the Tongue; the one going to the heart, the other to the braine. To the end that that which remaines ſecret in the heart, the Tongue ſhould not vtter, ſaue what reaſon and the vnderſtanding haue firſt regiſtred, conformable to that Order, which is betweene the faculties of the Soule, and of the Body, it being fit that the Imagination ſhould firſt conceiue, and the Tongue afterwards bring forth: that thinke, the other ſpeake. Not like vnto that foole, who vnaduiſedly, and without preme- ditation, went all day long babbling vp and downe. *Tota* Pſal 52.2. *die iniuſtitiam cogitauit lingua tua*: Thy tongue, all day-long, deuiſeth miſchiefe. That is, whatſoeuer it imagineth, it eaſily vttreth, nay ſometimes the Tongue ſpeaketh with-

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out booke, and runnes riot, afore euer it is a ware. But let vs conclude this with that of *Saleman*, That Death, and Life, Prou.18.21. are in the power of the tongue, A dangerous weapon in the hands of him, that is not Master thereof, and knowes not how to rule it. For all Mans good, or ill, consisteth in the good, or ill vse of this Instrument. The well gouerning whereof, is like a good Pilot, that gouerneth a ship; and the ill guiding of it, like a dangerous rocke whereon men split their honour, and often loose their liues. And therefore the Diuell left patient *Iob*, when all the rest of his body was wounded with sores, his tongue whole and sound: Not with intent to doe him any kindnesse therein, but because hee knew very well, that that alone was sufficient, if hee were careleſſe thereof, for to make him loose his honour, his life, and his soule: For all these lye in the power of the Tongue. *Qui in consi-* Prou.13.3: *deratus est, ad loquendum, sentiet mala*: He that openeth wide his lipps, shall haue destruction. And the plagues which shall befall him, will bee so remediless, that he shall not meete with any medicine to cure them. Nor is there any defence against the careless negligences of a babbling tongue which are so many, that the Holy Ghost stiles such a kinde of tongue, the Vniuersitie, or Schoole of wickednesse. *Vniuersitas iniquitatis*: Wherein is read a Lecture of all Iam.3.6: the Vices. Whereas on the contrary, *Vir prudens secreta non prodit; Tacenda enim tacet, et laquenda loquitur*: A Seneca, lib 4. de Virtut. wise man will not betray a secret; But silenceth those things, that are to be silenced, and vttereth those things, that are to be vttered.

It is worthy our weighing, how much importeth the warinesse in our words, for Gods honour, and the Kings credit and authoritie, which is much abused and lessened by futile, and flippant tongues, to the great hurt of a kingdome, and the good gouernment of the Common-wealth. And let Kings correct this so great a disorder in the dis-

closing of secrets, either out of their respect to such and such persons, or for their particular Interests, or out of the weakenesse of a slippery tongue. Let Prince-Counsellours (I say) and Secretaries of State, bridle their tongues; If not, let Kings, if they can, restraine them. And if they cannot do it of themselues, let them petition God, as *Dauid* did: *In camo & freno maxillas eorum constringe.* Hold in their mouth with a bar and bridle. For I am of Saint *Iames* his belefe: *Nullus hominum domare potest*: The tongue can no man tame; it is an vnruly euill. I say moreouer that the harmes which the Tongue doth, are so many, and in such a diuerse manner, that the euill consisteth not onely in speaking, but many times likewise in being silent, and saying nothing: by forbearing to speake the truth in that which is fitting, and when it ought to speake, (as already hath beene sayd) and in not reprouing and amending his neighbour, being obliged, thereunto, by the Law Naturall, Diuine and Positiue; And in not reprehending Murmurers, and Backbiters; for then, for a man to hold his peace, and not to checke them for it, is to consent and concurre with them, and to approue that which they say. And S. *Bernard* tells vs, that he cannot determine which of the two is worse; *Detrahere, aut detrahentem audire, quid horum damnabilius sit, non facile dixerim.* To detract, or to heare him that detracteth, which is the more damnable, I cannot easily define. But more especially in Kings & persons of authoritie, who with a blast only of their breath, or with a lower looke, may make them hold their peace. I leaue the charge of this vnto them, and charge their consciencs with it. And for the discharge of mine owne, I will now aduertise them of another sort of people, whom for their tongue and talke none can exceede.

Prou. 18.21.

Psal 31.9.
Iames 3.8.

Bern. lib. 2. de Consid. ad Eugen.

§. IIII.

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Of Flatterers, and their Flatteries.

AMongſt thoſe infinite hurtes, and miſchiefes which an euill tongue cauſeth, one amongſt the reſt, and not the leaſt, is that of Adulation and flattery. Which is ſo much the greater, by how much the more diſſembled and feigned it is. The ſacred Scripture tearmes it abſolutely a ſinne, and ſays, that a flatterer, is abſolutely a ſinner. So ſome doe paraphraſe vpon that Verſe; *Oleum autem peccatoris*: The oyle, or balme of a ſinner. For in it is included all ſortes of ſinne whatſoeuer, and aboue all a great neglect and contempt of God: for although this be to be ſeene in all kinde of ſinnes, yet doth it more particularly expreſſe it ſelfe in thoſe, which draw not with them any delight, which they doe as it were vnprofitably, and *ſine pretio*; for it brings them no profit at all, vnleſſe (when moſt) a little Vanitie, which they more eſteeme, then God. Theſe, that they may gaine the kings elbowe, or that they may not bee put from it, ſpeake alwayes vnto him in fauour of that, which hee deliteth, and all their Artifice and cunning is, to conceale the Truth, and that the doore may be ſhut againſt him, that may tell it him, or thoſe that know not (like themſelues) how to pleaſe the Kings palate. And being confident, that they will giue eare to euery word which they ſpeake, they lay falſehoods and lyes athwart their way, fathering ſuch Actions of Proweſſe and valour vpon Kings, that they haue much adoe to for-beare laughing, that heare their folly. For there are ſome prayſes, that are diſ-prayſes, and redound much to the diſgrace and diſhonour of Princes.

For by thoſe vntruths, wherewith they ſooth and flatter them, they breed ſuſpition of that good which is in them. And becauſe they make pleaſing the marke whereat they ſhoote, they neuer looke, whether it be a lye, or a truth, which they deliuer, nor haue an eye more vnto good, then ill; iuſte or vniuſt, againſt God, or his neighbour, all is one. Cannonizing their King for a Saint, though they know the contrary. Theſe (ſaith *Nazianzene*) are like to your Sorcerers of *Egypt*, which were about *Pharaohs* perſon, who with feigned Prodigies, did pretend to eaſe his heart of that griefe which thoſe plagues did cauſe in him. Ambitious and proud men are theſe, which thus reſiſt the truth, and that they may not fall from their bias, oppoſe themſelues to thoſe that ſpeake the truth, and minde nothing elſe, but to caſt a fayre colour on thoſe things, whereunto they ſee their Prince ſtands affected. They come of the race of your Cameleons, which liue by the ayre, and cloath themſelues with the colour of that whereunto they approach neereſt. If they ſee the King troubled, they are troubled; if merry, they are merry; if ſad, they are ſad; Hauing their teares as neere at hand, as their ſmiles, for to deceiue him; And the better to content him, they change themſelues into a thouſand colours: in all they imitate him: in all doe they labour to repreſent him to the true life. There is not that glaſſe, which ſo liuely repreſents the face, the ſemblance, and actions of thoſe that looke therein, as the flatterer (who is that ſhadow which alwayes followes the body of him hee flattereth) doth his Kings countenance, his motions, his poſtures, his geſtures, his ſaying, and his doings. For, as they ſee him either ſay, or doe, ſo doe they. Being like vnto the Echo, which anſwereth to the laſt ſyllable of euery word that is voyced in the Ayre. Theſe are the Kings Echos, which anſwer him in all, not onely in that which the voyce ſoundeth; but in that which they imagine to be to his liking:

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Being herein very like vnto those lying Hypocrites which thinke one thing, and make shew of another. But they are presently discouered, and this their second intention soone vnderstood, which is, To lye, and flatter, to make themselues gratious, and to bring their businesses the better about, though it be to the hurt of others. With one single truth, they will dawbe ouer a thousand lyes; As perfumers doe a great deale of Leather, with a little Ciuit. And thus soothing and suppling the eares of Princes with a subtill softenesse, and deceitfull sweetnesse, thy powre lyes into them, and working them with a gentle hand, they passe for truths, Whilst these false perswaders falsifie the Truth, and are worse members in a Common-wealth then those that falsifie the Kings Coine; and sinne more grieuously then those that beare false witnesse. For these, by their testification, deceiue onely the Iudge, that is to sentence the cause; but these with their faire and false flatteries, not only cozen and deceiue Kings, but corrupt and infect them, & make them to perseuere in their errours. *Per dulces sermones, & benedictiones, seducunt Corda innocentium* (saith S. *Paul*) by good words, and faire speeches they deceiue the hearts of the simple. And therefore with the greater and more grieuous punishments ought they to be punished. They are not so squeazy stomackt, as to make dainty of Lying, nor make they any bones to tell an vntruth, if thereby they thinke they may please. And as soone will they lay hold on a Lye, as a truth, so as they rest well apayd therewith to whom they vent their flatterie and their Leasings. And some are so trayned and bred vp to them, that they take delight to heare them, and doe as verily beleeue them, as they doe their Creede. And so close doth this falsehood cleaue vnto them, that without any occasion or cause giuen they leane thereunto, and stedfastly beleeue, that they haue that goodnesse in them, which they want, and not that badnesse, wherein they exceede. For, being senceless of their Rom. 16. 18.

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owne defects, they no sooner heare themselues commended but they are presently puffed vp, and conceit themselues to surpasse all other Princes. And thus doe they liue all their life long deluded, taking themselues to be otherwise, then they are, being abused and vndone, by Lyes, and flatteries; Whence it is now growne to be a Prouerb; *Principes, qui libenter audiũt verba mendacij, omnes Ministros habet impios:* If a Ruler hearken to Lyes, all his seruants are wicked. For euery man will frame his Tongue, according to his eare and feede him with that fruit, which they know best pleaseth his palate. It being a dangerous disease in Kings, not to indure the truth; and as mortall in the subiects, that they know not well, how to acquaint them therewith. The one, because they minde no other thing; The other because they dare not speake their minde. Many seeke ing to please them, most to flatter them; and some not to contradict them, being loath to distast them, of whose helpe & fauour they may stand in neede, hauing so much the kings eare, and such great power in Court. They know that the bread of Lyes is sauory, and that flatterers are too well heard, that they buzze into Kings eares a thousand fictions and falsehoods, which they themselues inuent, and by their smooth carriage of them, perswade them to be truths. And for that Kings (vsually) treate with few, they cannot be informed of the truth, and so are forced to beleeue those, who of purpose seeke to deceiue them. And therfore the wise men of *Athens* did set such a watch about their Kings, that flatterers should not bee suffred to speake with them. For these their smooth words, their adulations, and flatteries when they are once receiued by the eare, do not slightly passe away, entring in at one eare, and going out at another, but they cleaue vnto the Soule, and make their way euen to the innermost part of the heart, and there make their seate, and abode. *Verba susurronis, quasi simplicia, & ipsa perueniunt ad intima cordis:* The words

Prou, 29. 12.

Prou, 26. 22.

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of a Tale-bearer, carry a faire shew, but they are as wounds, and they goe downe into the innermost parts of the belly. And albeit they be cast out, and doe not wholy either possesse, or perswade vs, as knowing of what stampe they are, and in what mould they are cast, yet at least they leaue behind them a kinde of guste, and content, and with that wherewith they seeme to please, they kill. As water doth those, that are sicke of a Hectick-feuer, which they drinke with so much pleasure, and swallow downe with so much greedinesse: so these men come to tast that, which turnes to their owne hurt. Grossing the opinion of *Iob*; who would haue none to tast that, which being tasted, should occasion his death. Of your rich red wine, the wise man saith, that it is pleasant and sweete in the going downe, but afterwards that it biteth and gnaweth in the belly like a Serpent. In like manner, soothing is very sweete and sauory, and and seemeth least sower, to those, that are most powerfull, and, although they see the poyson that it is mingled with, yet they drinke it downe with a good will, and their seruants will be sure to serue them with the best and the strongest, contrary to that precept of Gods, which saith; *Nolo vinum dare regibus*: Giue not wine vnto Kings, lest they drinke, and forget the Law, and peruert the iudgement of any of the afflicted. Let Kings therefore take heede of these flatterers, and false deceiuers, who pretend no more then to vphold themselues in their place, and grace, and to receiue thankes for doing ill. And the miserie of it is, that they finde this to be a good way for their rising in Court, and to grow in fauour with Princes; and the onely sure course, whereby to shape and worke out their aduancement. *Plutarke* sayth, That it is the fashion and Language of vile and base people, and besides many other infamous names and foule Attributes, that hee giues them, hee declares, them to be of as base condition, as are your slaues, which of necessitie must cumply in all their Actions, and their

Prou 31.4.5.

Plut. Moral. lib. de Amico, & affectatore.

their Answers with their Masters liking, and pleasure. The doing whereof, were there no other slaverie, is slaverie inough of it selfe. But in some cases, it may be somewhat more tollerable, as when their flatteries shall doe little or no hurt, and when as their lyes and vntruths shall tend to no other end, but merriment, and to intertaine, and please him whom they serue. But in the rest it is Treason and Treacherie. King *Don Alonso* (surnamed the Wise) in a Law of the *Partida*, sayth. *Que si alguno, &c.* That if any one should speake words of Leasing and of flatterie to the King, that hee should not bee suffred to come neere him. For such kinde of men, are like like vnto their tamer sort of Bees, that are housed in their hiues, which haue honey in their mouthes, but wound with their stings. They speake sweete words, but their tongues are full of poyson; *Venenum aspidum sub labijs eorum*: The poyson of Aspes is vnder their lipps. *Sagitta vulnerans, lingua eorum*: Their tongue is as an arrow shot out. And they bend their tongue, like their bow, for lyes. They are worse (saith Saint *Ierom*) then Scorpions, who wooe vs with their face, and wound vs with their taile. And therefore the Prophet *Ezechiel*, discoursing of Kings, aduiseth them, saying; Looke well to your selues, for you dwell among Scorpions. And well was that holy King acquainted with their ill condition, who did cast them off from him, when he said; Depart from me ye wicked. *Quare persequimini me, & carnibus meis saturamini*? Why doe yee persecute me (saith *Iob*) and are not satisfied with my flesh? Other Creatures, (though neuer so fierce, and cruell) content themselues with feeding on dead carkasses; but these must liue and be sustained by liuing flesh, and like your birdes of rapine, prey vpon the bosomes and hearts of Kings. *Nullum quidem animantium genus* (saith *Plutarke*) *assentatoribus est pernicioſius*: No creature so dangerous as is the flatterer. *Diogenes* and *Bias*,

L. 5. Tit. 13. par. 2.

Psal. 140. 3.

Ierem. 9.

Hieroni. Epist. 88.

Iob. 19. 22.

Plut. in Moral. lib. de Educan. liberis.

Bias, both great Philosophers, were of opinion, that amongst your wilde beastes, the most hurtfull, and which did bite soreſt, were the Tyrant, and the Tale-bearer, but amongst your tame ones, and such as are bred by hand, the flatterer. The Scripture tearmes flattering, biting. They are snarling Currs; *Qui mordent dentibus suis*: Which bite with their teeth. They come towards you with a fleering Countenance, but no sooner have you in their reach, but they snap at you. And therefore a great Monarch, to one that made towards him, with a feigned smile, and fawning looke, when hee came neere him, gave him, (as to a Dogge) a Kicke saying; *Cur me mordes?* Why doest thou bite mee? *Hacr vet* affirmeth, that there is not any Pestilence more pernicious and praeiudiciall to Kings, then the flatterer; and aduiseth them, that they should shunne them that applaud all that they say, or doe; but should cherish and make much of those, who in good tearmes tell them their errours; for these are true friends and loyall subiects, and those other, kinde enemies and familiar Traytours, who with the soft silken scarfe of smooth-tongued flatterie gently strangle them, receiuing, but not perceiuing their death, like little children that insensibly fall asleepe, being lull'd in their nurses lapps. And they are by so much the more dangerous (saith *S. Gregory*) by how much the lesse they are knowen and vnderstood. Kings carefully guard their royall persons, with many guardes of Porters, halbardeers, and Soldiars. But there is no guard set, nor no doore shut against these false friends, these domesticke enemies; for those their soft words oyled ouer with adulation, are those darts, and brasse Ordnance wherewith they kill and slay. *Molliti sunt sermones eius super oleum, & ipsi sunt iacula.* The words of his mouth were smoother then butter, but warre was in his heart, his words were softer then oyle, yet were they drawen swords. They are men, that carry two faces vnder one hood, they

Gregor. in regiſt. lib. 4. cap. 32.

Pſal. 54. 22.

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are *counterfeite doblones* that haue two seuerall stampes, but neither of them golde, which God abhorreth, and throwes them a thousand Leagues off from him, such is the hatred hee beares vnto them. *Spiritus enim sanctus effugiet fictum*: For the holy Spirit of discipline, will fly deceit, and will not abide, when vnrighteousnesse commeth in. Therein, teaching discreete Kings, how they ought to avoyde this kinde of vaine men, and dissembling dispositions, whose pills of poyson, are confectioned with Sugar, and fairely, but falsely gilded ouer. The Emperour *Tiberius*, was such an enemie vnto them, and to whatsoeuer did sauour of flattery, that neuer either in publicke, or in secret, did hee giue way to intertayning any speech with them, and held those hearts to be base and vile, which did vse the like feigned courtesies. And the two *Seueri*, *Alexander* & *Septimus*: did seuerely prosecute these beasts, and pursued them to the death, as most mischeiuous to a Common-wealth. *Theodoricus*, stabd one of his seruants, because thinking thereby to please him, and to curry sauour with him, he had changed his Religion. And the *Athenians*, beheaded an Embassadour of theirs, whom they imployed to the King of *Persia*, because in an insinuating and flattering kinde of fashion, hee made his entrance, when hee came to haue his Audience, with great submissions, and thereupon enacted a Law, whereby they condemned flatterers to death. And the Emperours, *Arcadius* and *Honorius* ordeyned the like in their Lawes. And good King *David* did well instruct Kings, how they were to deale with these Traytors, in that rigorous chastisement, which hee exercised on an *Amalakite*, who thought to winne his sauour by bringing him newes of *Sauls* death; whom presently there vpon the place in his own presence, hee caused to be slaine. This kingly Prophet, did hate them exceedingly, and was much the more wary and heedefull of them, as being the Diuells Ministers, and being

Wisd. 1. 5.

2 Kings. 1. 15.

ing instructed by him, in the trade of counterfeite gilding, and laying oyle colours on rusty yron, wherein hee had so played the cunning merchant with our first parents, & met with such good and rich *Indyes*. And therefore did so earnestly beg of God, that not one drop of that oyle of these Traders with Hell, might touch his head. *Oleum autem peccatoris, non impinguet caput meum*: Let not their precious oyle make fatte my head. For that soft and sweete oyntment of theirs, is full of poyson. Others, translate it, *Non frangat*: Let it not breake my head. For, though their words seeme to be like oyle, or Balsamum that is powred forth, yet are they sharpe arrowes, and deadly Darts. This oyle, or Balsamum (saith *Cassiodorus*) is flatterie, which is an inuention of the Diuells to bereaue men of their sences. He tooke this course with the first of men, and neither hath, nor will giue ouer till hee haue made an end (if hee can) with the last. For great is that vngodly gaine which hee maketh by this kinde of merchandise. With this pleasant bath, and mouth-oyntment hee came to our first parents, and began to smooth, and annoynt them with his inticing flatteries, telling them, that they should be no whit inferiour vnto God, if they would but taste of the forbidden fruit. They (vnfortunate therein) beleeu'd it, And who is he, that knowes not what a bad bargaine they made of it, and what great losse they sustained? And what an ill market, they make, and what they loose by their trading, who by these fomentations, suffer the crowne of their head to be annoynted? The fall of that Prince, is very neere at hand, if not very certaine, that lets his eares lye open to the like lyes; for by listning vnto Sycophants and Flatterers, good kings haue become bad, and by dancing after their pipe, and gouerning themselues by their aduise, Kings and kingdomes haue come to ruine. *Commodum, iuuenem imperatorem, perdiderunt*: (saith *Herodian*,) They vndid thereby the young Emperour

Psal. 141. 5.

Herodia. lib. 1.

Emperour *Commodus*. They likewise (saith *Plutarke*) were the cause of the disastrous death of *Iulius Cæsar*, and of diuerse others. And as some wise and holy Saints haue obserued, many more Kings and kingdomes haue beene vndone by flatterers, then by the warrs; for they are the roote and beginning of all mischiefes, and all the publicke miseries of Common-wealths, are to be attributed vnto them. Let Kings in this particular be well aduised, and not suffer themselues to be deceiued, nor to haue dust throwen in their eyes, that they may not see the hurt, which flattery causeth. *S. Ierom* saith, that it is an vnlucky starre, and an vnfortunat fate, or Constellation, that thus leades the soule and heart aside with flatteries, and carries them which way they list. For although by fits, we see the face of our owne shame vn masked, and know our selues to be vnworthy of what we heare, yet inwardly wee reioyce thereat, like vnto those, who by fortune-tellers, being told their good fortune, take pleasure in hearing of it, though they finde it afterwards to bee bad.

Plut. in vita, Mar. Brut.

Ansel. epist. ad Rom. c. 6.

Cicero lib. de Amicitia.

Augustin.

Tom. 8. in. Psal. 62.

The remedy against this, is that which the Holy Ghost setteth downe vnto vs. To wit; That wee should sowe our eares with bushes and thornes, that they may paine and pricke his tongue that shall come to court them with flatteries. Let Kings haue reprehension and chastisement in readinesse against these plotters and impostors. *Plus enim persequitur lingua adulatoris, quàm manus interfectoris:* For a flatterers tongue does more harme, then a murderers hand. *Seneca* in his Epistles, tells vs how exceedingly *Alexander* the Great was incensed against his friends, because they tolde him, that hee was the Sonne of a God. Hee told them they ly'd. And hee was in the right. For all that flatter, lye, and that is not to be beleeued which they say, but that which euery man knowes of himselfe, and what his owne conscience dictates vnto him. And

2. Hier. ad Sabian.

Seneca. epist. 124

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what good doth their commendation doe mee, if that accuſe mee? And in caſe that they doe not doe this baſe office, but that they themſelues ſooth vp themſelues, and beleeue that of themſelues, which they are not, this, of all other adulation, is the worſt, and the moſt incurable, becauſe it ariſeth from ſelfe-loue, and a proper eſtimation of our owne worth, which is that inward flatterer which we all beare about vs in our owne boſomes, and are willing to intertane his falſe perſwaſions. For hee that is flattered by another, doth ſometimes know, that all is Lyes and adulation, which they tell him, and makes a game and ſcoffe of it, which hee doth not doe, when it proceedes from himſelfe, but doth rather deſire, that all ſhould fauour him in this his opinion; And it is a ſtrange thing, and much to be wondred at, that without himſelfe, and in another, a man ſhould ſo eaſily perceiue adulation, and ſhould not ſee it in himſelfe. But the reaſon of it is; That ſome doe reſt ſo well ſatisfied of themſelues, that all whatſoeuer they imagine in their owne conceit, they opinion it to be truly in them, and to be their due.

Let vs therefore conclude this diſcourſe, with aduiſing Kings, that it is baſeneſſe in a breſt and heart that is truly noble and royall, to ſuffer himſelfe to be ſo lightly led away by men of ſuch vile thoughts, and baſe pretenſions, which follow more a Prince his fortune, then his Perſon. They feare not his hurt, nor pittie his paines, for that they are Traytours, and eaſily vary from their faith and loyaltie, and paſſe ouer to another. They flatter this man, and backbite that: They ſooth one, and flout another. Their tongues, are like double ſawes, which ſawe on both ſides, which comming and going, cut whereſoeuer they come, and ſlice and mince all that they light vpon, not ſparing any man. There is no truſting of theſe men, nor can we ſafely haue ought to doe with them; for, to ſerue their turne, they haue ſtill two contrary weapons ready at hand,

and with one and the same Prince, make vse of them both. One while they lye, and another while speake truth, but flatter in both. Their tongue droppeth forth words of hony, and their lips are canded with Sugar; for they know, that in Kings houses much sweete meates are spent, and they hold him that shall season things with a contrary relish for their palate, to be offensiue and troublesome, and it will not goe downe with them, so harsh doth it seeme vnto them in the swallowing. King *Ahab* renders no other reason of his hatred towards the Prophet *Micah*, but because hee did not speake pleasing things, and such as did agree with his guste and palate; for hee that is accustomed to this kinde of diet, will hardly be brought to digest any other. *Quia non prophetat mihi bonum, sed malum* (saith the text.) There is yet one man, by whom wee may inquire of the Lord; But I hate him, for hee neuer propheseth good vnto mee, but alwayes euill. Hee had signified some truthes vnto him, but hee did not like well of them; for those eares, that haue beene accustomed to flatteries, will hardly indure to be tolde their owne, and to heare that, which may dis-deceiue them, and put them out of their errour. But this wicked King payd the price of his folly, at no lesse a rate then his life. For these his false Prophets, and flatterers, led him along into the doores of death, as fooles by faire words are led vnto the stocks. But hee, that is a good King, will not suffer himselfe to be carried away with euery winde, nor be moued with soothing and artificiall words; and all such, as are of a generous minde, and of a graue and constant disposition, and men of reckoning and authoritie, are enemies to such kinde of lightnesse, and meere strangers to all manner of leasings and adulation. This being so, wee ought not only to keepe the doores of our eares shut against these their accursed tongues, but of our houses against these vaine and lying Sycophants, and to desire of God, that he will be pleased to illighten the vnderstanding of Kings and Princes,

2 Chron. 18. 7.

Princes, that they may get at leaſt out of this blindneſſe wherein they liue, and that he will free them from theſe eare-wiggs, and incroaching flatterers, who onely for to pleaſe, and for their particular Intereſt, celebrate their euill actions, and approue for lawfull, all their diſordinate appetites. Whileſt they, out of ſeelineſſe, or willfullneſſe, will not ſee the truth of that ſaying; *Qui te beatum dicunt, ipſi te decipiunt. &c.* They, which call thee bleſſed, cauſe thee to erre, and deſtroy the way of thy pathes. Eſay. 3. 12.

Laſtly, That wee may put an end to this diſcourſe, I ſay, That there are another ſort of flatterers, which they call Ieſters, and men of pleaſure, very hurtfull and preiudiciall both in the Common-wealth, and Kings Courtes; And by ſo much the more, by how much the more eare is giuen vnto them. Their Laughters, their applauſe, their flatteries, and their fooleries, are all Lyes; one word croſſing another, and their laſt reaſons incountring with their firſt, and by laying hold on all, confound themſelues in the end in all. Their Office is to perſecute the truth; and whereſoeuer they are, there is heard nothing but Muſicke, ſongs, and inchantments of lyes and falſehoods, wherewith they deceiue, and fill mens heads with ayre. Hee hath ſmall ſtore of braine (ſaith a wiſe man) which hearkens vnto ſuch kinde of idle Companions; who, for that they finde they haue entrance into the Courtes and Palaces of Kings, looſe all ſhame, and feare, and aſſume vnto themſelues the libertie to runne this large courſe of life, whereby they thriue ſo well, and get their bread with ſo much eaſe. *Salomon*, amongſt thoſe beaſts, which repreſent the Actions and geſtures of men, which liue by their trickes, and ſuſtaine themſelues by their arte and induſtrie, reckoneth vp the Ape. And according to the Hebrew truth, and *Pagninus* his tranſlation, that word *Stellio* ſignifieth as much. And ſaith thereof, that it hath it's reception in Kings houſes. *Stellio manibus nititur, & moratur in aedibus regis.* And

thereby vnderſtand this linage of mimick men, which liue meerely by their induſtry, exerciſing a thouſand Apiſh geſtures before Kings and Princes to pleaſe them all they can, and to make them to laugh and be merry. They are birdes of rapine, hauing long bills, and double pawes, ſeazing on what they ſee, and you muſt part with ſomething to them either by faire meanes, or by force, vpon paine of putting you in feare, that they will ſpeake that of you, which they doe of others. Theſe ill condition'd birdes, are vſually bred in high places, although, like lewd women, they ſtoope to all, admit of all, and take of all, with a pretenſion to deceiue all, fitting euery one according to his humour, ſoothing that ſinne, whereunto they ſee the party moſt affected. They are traytours of their tongue, cogging Companions, and lying Knaues, who, a man hath no ſooner turned his backe, but they ſcoffe moſt at him, that giues them moſt; and not onely rob him of his money, but his honour, and goe laughing away at their owne folly; They are Rogues by conſent, Villaines by permiſſion, Knaues *Cum priuilegio*, inſtruments of the Diuell, and Hawkes-meate for Hell; Deſeruing to be baniſhed for euer from the preſence of Kings, and men of authoritie. But the greife of it is; That the more they lye, the more they are beleeued; and the more impudently and vnciuilly they talke, they are the better heard. Vnhappy are they in themſelues, and as vnhappy they that heare them: The one, in their tongues, the other, in their eares. But they ſhall not remaine without puniſhment, for their Harpes and their Ghitterns, their Lutes, and their Vialls, their ſinging of new and laſciuious ſongs, their deſcanting vpon other mens liues, their lyes, and their flatteries, in that ſad and miſerable hower of their death, ſhall be turned into ſighes and groanes, into roarings and howlings, and into hideous and fearefull ſhrikes, as they write of the *Syrens*, to whom *Eſay* compares them; Who in their life time

time ſing ſweetly, and deceiue the hearing with their ſweete notes, and murder the men that liſten to them; but afterwards die themſelues, bellowing forth terrible and rauing out-cryes. For then, doth that blood faile and forſake them, which did cheere their heart. In like manner, the Sea-beaſts, of this Sea of the world, when this their naturall heate ſhall goe decaying, and their blood ſhall waxe cold and frozen within them, they will depart hence with horrible anguiſh of Soule, terrible gripings of the heart, ſtinging vexations of conſcience, rauing yellings, and ſhreike vpon ſhricke, one ouertaking another tearing the very ſoule in ſunder, cauſed by their euill Conſcience, which neuer leaues racking and tormenting them, till it haue brought them downe to the deepe pit of Hell, where they ſhall abide for euer weeping and gnaſhing their teeth. Where I will now leaue them, and paſſe on to the ſenſe of Touching; which though it be the firſt in being, yet is it the laſt, that comes to be handled.

Chap. XXIX.

Of the Sence of Touching.

OF thoſe fiue Senſes, which Nature gaue vnto the Creatures, in theſe two, Taſting, and Touching, man exceedeth all the reſt; but in thoſe other three, Seeing, Hearing, and Smelling, is exceeded by many. And amongſt all the fiue, the moſt animall, materiall, groſſe, and brutall, is the Touching, as alſo all thoſe delightes which by it are inioyed. *Ariſtotle* ſaith; That they are ſenſuall, beaſtly, and baſe, as likewiſe are thoſe of the Taſt. It hath, as the reſt, the Originall *Ariſt. 3. Ethi. 8. cap. 10.*

ginall and beginning of it's *Sensation* in the braine, and from thence, goes to this, and to all the nerues of sensibilitie, that are either more, or lesse subtill and delicate, according to their seuerall necessities. It is a wonderfull thing, that out of this trunke onely, nay this little chip, (man) Nature should hew and cut out so many Materials, for instruments for such prime and subtill Operations, as those of the sences and so different, that it is impossible for one exteriour sense to doe that, which another doth. And therfore, speaking of the Head, whence all, and euery one haue their sensible Instrument; it is fitting, that we should likewise say something of Touching, and to set downe it's Office; which is, to haue a sense and feeling of the foure primarie Qualities, Frigiditie, Caliditie, Humiditie, and Siccitie; and some other, which from a mixture with these doe arise, as are hard, soft, rough, plaine, sharpe, flat, great, little; And in a word, all that whatsoeuer, that is knowne and discerned by touching. It hath no set place, or determinate situation in the body, but is equally scattred and diffused throughout the whole bulke of man, by vertue of a nerue, which like a fine thine net doth ouer-spread and comprehend the whole lumpe or masse, both within, and without; by meanes whereof, it hath a feeling in all the parts, but there the more and the better, where the body is more soft and tender, whereunto assisteth the subtiller, and colder blood. *Aristotle* saith; That it is the first of the sences, and the foundation of all the other foure, and that there is not any creature, but hath it. And as we said of the Taste, they say of this, that it is so necessary, that without it, no liuing Creature can liue; But without some of the other may. And in man, in regard of the goodnesse of his Complexion, which in him is better then in other Creatures, it is more subtill and delicate, then in any one, or all of them; and farre more certaine, and lesse lyable to be deceiued; and supplieth

Arist lib. 2. de anim. c. 17. & 27.

plieth (as *Nissenus* affirmeth) the defects of the other. *Et videtur datus a Natura propter cæcos*: And it seemes to be giuen by Nature, for the good and benefit of blinde men. For when that spiritual sense of the sight faileth them, which should be their Guide, they make vse of this more grosse and materiall sense by groping and feeling the walls. *Is cæcus est, & manu tentans*, (said Saint *Peter*) and S. *Ambrose*; *Quod tactu probamus, quæ oculis probare non possumus*: That wee proue those things by Touching, which wee cannot try by the eyes. *Greg. Nis. de hominis opific.* 1 Pet. *Ambr. lib. 6. Exam. c. 9.*

Some of the qualities of this sence, which appertaine to Kings, hath already beene handled in those that went before; all of them, hauing their delight, which wee commonly call Guste, or Taste. That which remaineth, is to aduise them, to beware thereof, if they will not die by their owne hands; for it is an ill and vnruly beast, and makes men brutish and beastly. S. *Basil* saith thereof; That of all the other sences it is the most pernicious, because it trailes and draggs the rest after it, or seemed to haue hired them, to serue it in it's pleasures and delights, making them pay it tribute and custome of all their gaines and commodities. For, that which the eies see, the eares, heare, the nose smells, and the heart desires, is onely therewith to serue this sence, letting it share with them, and inuiting it to take part of their best and choysest morsells. The rest haue recourse but to one thing; this, to all; nothing comes amisse to it, it lays hand on all. The rest are but as the *Media*, and *breues dispositiones*. But this is the *finis*, or end, which all doe pretend. To touch that, which is not lawfull, doth discompose and put the heart out of order and confoundeth mans soule. For thence (saith S. *Bernard*) first arise euill thoughts, fowle motions, then consent, next Act, and lastly Death. It is not fit we should suffer flaxe to come to neere, the flame, nor is it it conuenient, that man should *Regalar* and cocker vp himselfe with this *Basil. lib. de vera Virginit.* *Bern. de interiori domo. c. 39.*

sence; for that presently such sparkles thence fly forth, as inflame the body, and set the soule on fire. And therefore it is requisite that we carrie a hard hand vpon this sence, & looke well thereunto. For euen in the plainest and euenest way man often times stumbles, how much more where there is apparent danger. And let not kings thinke, because they are kings, that they are free from this Tyrant, but in that they are kings, are so daintilie bread, so deliciously fed, and make so much of themselues, they are more subiect thereunto, for that their natural condition, conformes it selfe more to it's guste, & pleasure, and is a great friend of *Regalos*, of daintinesse, and nice vlage, of fine linnen, soft raiment, choice deliacies, and all that which causeth delight, & prouoketh pleasure. And in Courts, and Kings Pallaces, and in the houses of Princes and great Persons, these things are in greatest request. *Ecce, qui in veste pretiosa sunt & delicijs, in domibus Regum sunt.* Behold, they which are gorgeously apparelled, and liue delicately, are in Kings Courts. So says our Saviour *Christ*. And many dangers doe they runne, who measure out all their life by the Compasse of Contents, and passe times, that goe cloathed in Silkes and Veluetts and are continually conuersant amidst the sweetest perfumes, the purest Holland, the finest Damaske, and the richest cloathes of Silke and Gold. Yet for all this doe not I say, That Princes, and great Lords, liuing in this State and Pompe, cannot *eo nomine* bee saued, but to shew that in all Estates there is a great deale of danger; but much more in your daintier, and nicer sort of people: Nor will I with all my force straine this vnto Kings, as well witting, what their Estate and Greatnesse, doth admit and require. And that as Nature did difference them from the rest both in blood, and birth, so likewise ought there to be a distinction in their diet, raiment, and in the furnishing and adorning of their houses. But I say that, which cannot be denied, that in excuse of this their state and

Luk. 7. 25.

conueniencie,

conueniencie, they take vnto themselues herein too large a licence, and passe to soone from the foote, to the hand; & from the hand, to the mouth; making of an inch an ell, and of an ell an Aker. So hard a matter is it for great Princes to moderate themselues, and vse a meane. And that Heathen was not much wide of the marke, who sayd in the Senate, That that is an vnfortunate Estate, that obligeth a man to liue alwayes vp to the eyes grazing in his pleasures and delightes: And that it is a very bad *Omen*, for a man, to liue all his life time, according to the sauour and guste of his palate. *Consuetudinem nullam peiorem esse, quàm vt semper viuat quis ad voluptatem.* There is not any custome so bad, as that of a mans liuing according to his owne pleasure. Such men, are rather to be pitried, then enuied; for there is not that hower of their contents and delightes, which doth not pay it's tribute of teares and sorrow. Onely for to please and satisfie this sense, and to recreate that of the sight, haue so many Artes beene inuented, so many sorts of Trades, and Trades-men set a worke, so much varietie of fashions and costly cloathes, such a world of curious Silkes, Lawnes, Cambricks, and Hollands, such large beds, rich bedding, sumptuous bed-steds, so sensuall, and so ouer nice and dainty, that it may well be questioned whether is greater, the costlinesse or the curiositie; the richnesse, or the ryot occasioned by them? Nor (which is the miserie of it) is it yet known, whether or how farre this Humour will extend it selfe. But sure I am, that thereby houses are disordred, much monyes consumed, ancient Inheritances solde away, and a thousand other inconueniences introduced. And (to say the truth) this sense hath not neede of so much nicetie, but abuse hath now brought it to that passe, that it hath no sooner a liking to a thing, but it greedily runn's after it, as a beast that is put into a fresh ground, runnes vp and downe, smelling out the choice grasse, and will not bite but at the sweetest. But he that doth *Regalar*, and pamper

vp

vp this sense most, doth most of all make it his enemie, which will neuer giue him ouer till it haue vndone him. This is so large a Theame, and so copious a subiect, that if I should here write and set downe all that, which in this kinde would fairly offer it selfe, I must be driuen much to inlarge my pen. But it is not my Intent, to set my cloath on the Tenters, nor in this little Loome to weaue large Histories, and long discourses, but onely to giue a short touch, and away, of the effects, which this sence causeth, and of the miseries and misfortunes, which are incident to Touching, and that all the worke, & paines which it does and takes for it's friends, and best well-wishers, is not so freely bestow'd, nor that good assurance giuen thereof, but that this it's momentary pleasure, makes quick payment, in groanes, in diseases, and in Temporall, and Eternall Death; The condition of the obligation being drawen and signed by no worse a Scriuener then Saint *Paul*, *Si enim secundum carnem vixeritis, moriemini*. For if yee liue after the flesh, yee shall dye. Wee haue examples of Kings good store, and of ancient and moderne Kingdomes, forraine, and domestick. The first shall be of *Charles* the 8. King of *France*, in whom voluptuousnesse and delights, wrought so great an alteration in that his most fortunate and happy entrance, which hee made into *Italy*; where without putting hand to his sword, hee became Master of all the whole Kingdome of *Naples*, and did so amuze and affright all the World, that the Great Turke was afraid of being ouer runne by him, and many of his Commaunders, which had the keeping of his Fortes on that Coast, forsooke them and fled. And if that King had but well followed that Enterprize, hee had beene Lord of all *Greece*. But being a young Gentleman, hee suffered himselfe to be ouercome by the Dainties and Delicacies of that Countrie, spending his Time in delightes, banquets, shewes, maskings, dancings, and

Rom. 8. 13.

and feastings. So that hee, who had so soone filled the world with feare, was as soone ouercome by yeelding to the pleasure of this sense. For hee and his did so glut themselues with the fruites of that Country, and so followed the delights of the flesh, that hauing entred victorious, they became subiect, and were subdued by that new and loathsome disease, which possesseth the whole body, and to dissemble it's name, they call it *Corrimiento*, which in plaine English, is the *French Pocks*: There, and then it was, where and when it first began to rage, and from thence spred it selfe hither and thither, and now is so generally knowen in all parts of the world, and which by Touching onely cleaues close vnto man. And this, had it's roote and beginning in carnall delight, as it was resolued in a Consultation of Physitians, which King *Don Alonso* called together in *Toledo* (which is another notable Example) who hauing wonne that Citie from the *Moores*, and many other places, ioying themselues in the victorie, layd aside their Armes, and gaue themselues in that manner to their pleasures and delights, that within a few dayes they were growen so lazye and so weake, that they were not able to fight, nor to beare armes against the enemie, and being forced to take them vp in a certaine skirmish, which they had neere vnto *Xeles*, they were ouerthrowen and shamefully put to flight, leauing dead in the place the sonne of their King. Who being very sensible of this so great an infamie, consulted his Physicians, what should be the cause of this so great a weakenesse both in the strength and courage of his soldiers, who in the first incounter hauing shew'd themselues as fierce as Lyons, in this last conflict seemed as fearefull as Hares. Who answered him with that, which *Plinie* speakes of the *Romans*, who fell from their ancient greatnesse, because in their meate, drinke, and apparell, and in the delicacies of their bathes, and

Don Alons the fixt of *Castile* and *Leons*. *Vide Fernan Perez. lib. 2. Tit. 4. cap. 5.*

Plin. nat. Hist. lib. 2. cap. 3.

companie

companie keeping with women, they exceeded all those, whom before they had ouercome. And therefore, *Vincendo, victi sumus*: Wee are ouercome, by ouercoming. And thereupon, that good King forthwith commanded the bathes to be destroyed, together with the houses of pleasure, gardens, and other the like places of recreation, wherewith that dammage was in part repayred. In these two things, daintinesse in diet, and wantoning with women, the Diuell imploies his vttmost strength and force, that hee may quit those of it, and vtterly dis-inable them, that giue themselues thereunto. And this was that Counsaile and Aduice, which that member of Satan, and false Prophet, *Balaam* gaue to the King of *Moab*; That in those places, through which the children of *Israel* were to passe, hee should appoint certaine of his fayrest women to be there in readinesse, to receiue and intertaine them, to cherish and make much of them, and to inuite them to eate and drinke with them, as the onely meanes to draw them on to their destruction as it afterwards fell out. This is pointed at in *Numbers* but set forth more at large in *Iosephus*. Where it is added, That those are not to be feared, which giue themselues to the like gustes and delights, for in waxing weary of the clattering of armour, and taking pleasure in the sound of musicke, in putting off harnesse, and putting on silkes; in changing a field-Tent, for a soft bed; and forsaking the conuersation of soldiars, and Captaines, to follow the companie of women, they stuck a naile in the wheele of their fortunes. These are examples, that cannot be excepted against; But much lesse that which followes of King *Salomon*, whose pompe, musick, dancings, feastings, huntings, dainties, delights, and passe-times, were such, as he himselfe, inspired by the Holy Ghost, reckons vp. Now that, which he got by all these, what was it? Onely this, that these Vices, and wanton delights, made him forget himselfe, and to blot

Num. 25. 1.

Ioseph de Antiq. lib. 4. cap. 5.

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out all the good of his felicitie, and that good correſpondence, which hee held with God, and in ſuch ſort did turne his braines, that hee came to committ idolatrie, and to call his ſaluation in queſtion. And therefore let euery one command his fleſh, as hee would command his ſlaue, leſt it make him a ſlaue. For to him that yeelds himſelfe thereunto, it is a fierce; to him, that feares it, a cruell; and to him, that deliuers the keyes of his libertie vp vnto him, a dominering Tyrant, which like a haltred beaſt, it hales after him. There are two remedies found, for the curing of ſo many dammages and diſorders, as we perceiue to be in this ſenſe of Touching, and that of the Taſt. One generall for all; which is Temperance, whereof wee will treate by and by; The other more particular, drawne from the example of Kings, whereof we will diſcourſe hereafter.

§. I.

Of Temperance.

THe Office of Temperance, is to keepe a man from flying out, and to make him not to incline to a little more, or a little leſſe, but to liue alwayes in very good Order, not exceeding in any thing the bounds of Reaſon. *Eſt moderatio Cupiditatum, rationi obediens:* It conſiſteth in a certaine moderation and mediocritie in pleaſures and delights, from which a Temperate man abſtaineth, refrayning from ſuperfluities and exceſſes, vſing things according to neceſſitie, and not according to his appetite. And it is that rule and Compaſſe, which doth mete and meaſure out the deſires of man, that

Cicero lib. 2. de fin. Aug. lib. de moribus.

that they may not passe from their point and Center, not suffring the heart, like the *Raven*, to flesh it selfe on the dead flesh of sensuall delights. S. *Dionisius* saith; That it serueth to incline a Man to all good; according to the rule of reason; as well in that which appertaineth to the sense of Touching, as of the Taste, that it may not, like an vnbridled colte, breake out into those two vnruly appetites, whose operations are so furious and vehement, that in earth, water and ayre, they leaue nothing safe and secure; and therefore had neede of this great vertue, to restraine their disorders, and concupiscences. These are those that make the cruellest warre against both body and soule; and this is that, which bridleth, tempreth, and moderateth her in her Excesses. *Temperantia* (saith *Prosperus*) *temperantem facit, abstinentem parcum, sobrium, moderatum, pudicum, tacitum, serium, & verecundum*:- Temperance makes a man temperate, abstemious, sparing, sober, moderate, modest, silent, serious, & yet shamefac't. It is a Vertue worthy Kings and Princes, and much commended by the Saints, and many are those Vertues which accompany it; As modestie, shamefastnesse, chastitie, abstinence, faire and comely behauiour, moderation, sobrietie, grauitie, and humilitie. *Aristotle* calls it, *Conseruatricem prudentiæ, & sapientiæ*, the Conseruatrice of prudence and wisedome. For intemperance in eating and drinking, or in any other kinde of delight, doth ouerthrow the braine, dull the vnderstanding, darken the iudgement, blunt the best and sharpest wit, and makes man, as it were, a beast, as is to be seene by experience. *Quotidiano experimento probatur* (saith Pope *Leo*) *potus satietate, aciem mentis obtundi, & vigorem cordis hebetari:* It is made good by daily experience, that facietie of drinke, dulleth the edge of the minde, and blunteth the vigour of the heart. Temperance likewise preserueth the health, and makes mans life more long, more sound, and more pleasing. For, to be Princes, and Monarkes,

Dionis.

S. Prosper lib. 3. de vita Contemp. cap 19.

Arist 6. Ethic. cap 5. & 6.

S. Leo. Serm. de Ieiun.

Monarkes, and Lords of all the world, and whatsoeuer therein is, is not sufficient to content them, if they want their health, which is of more worth then all the world besides. *Melior est pauper sanus, & fortis viribus quam diues imbecillis; & corpus validum, quàm census immensus*: Better is the poore, being sound and strong of Constitution, then a rich man, that is afflicted in his body. Health, and good state of body, are aboue all gold, and a strong body, aboue infinite wealth. In distempering the humours, the Lotts of mens Estates are changed. The sicke man, be hee neuer so great a Lord, would be content to change States, to haue a poore plough-mans health. To what vse serue Kingdomes, *Signories*, and great treasures, if, day and night, a King leade a more milerable life, then a day-Labourer? To what vse serue his rich bed and downe pillowes, if he can take no rest in them? To what vse serue his delicate Cates, and dainty dishes, if hee no sooner sees them, but loaths them? To what vse serue his rich and pretious wines, if he must be driuen to drinke Barly-water? Or what guste and content can hee take in any thing, whose taste is as bitter as gall? Or how can he haue contentment in these outward things, that hath it not within himselfe? *Iulius Cæsar* wearyed out with his want of health, did hate and abhorre his life. For, (as the wise man saith) *Melior est mors, quàm vita amara*: Better is Death, then a bitter life. A sicke life, is no life; nor is there any happinesse, where health is wanting. And all things without it, are as nothing. For to liue without paine, is more to be prized then all. And this doth Temperance effect. This preserued *Marcus Valerius* more then a hundred yeares sound in iudgement, and strong in body; And by this *Socrates* liued all his life time free from sicknesses and diseases. It was the saying of the elder *Cato*, that hee gouerned his house, increased his wealth, preserued his health, and inlarged his life, by Temperance. Eccl. 30. 14.

Eccl.37.30. perance. *In multis esca erit infirmitas* (saith *Ecclesiasticus*) *Qui autem abstinens est, adijciet vitam*: Excesse of meates bringeth sickenesse; By surfeiting haue many perished, but hee, that taketh heede, prolongeth his life. King *Masinoja*, was wonderfull temperate, his fare was ordinary and without curiositie, which made him liue so sound and so healthy, that, at 87. yeares of age, hee begat a Sonne, and at 94. wanne a battaile, wherein he shewed himselfe a very good Soldiar, but a better Captaine. And therefore let those dis-deceiue themselues, and acknowledge their errour, who thinke they shall preserue their life, by faring deliciously. *Pliny* saith of grasse; That, *Quanto peius tractatur, tanto prouenit melius*: The worse it is vsed, the better it proues. As with it, so is it with man. *Homo sicut fœnum*: Man is but as grasse, or as the flower of the field; Which is no sooner vp, but is cut downe; no sooner flourisheth, but it fadeth; and all it's beautie no sooner appeareth, but it perisheth, and withereth away, and is no more to be seene. And the more wee make of much our selues, the lesse while we liue. We are alwayes crazy; soone downe, but not so soone vp; Quickly fall into a disease, but long ere we can get out of it; Loosing our strength, before we come to it, and waxing olde, before euer wee be aware of it. But if a man will lay aside this Cockering and pampering vp of himselfe, and habituate himselfe to labour and trauaile, he shall passe his life the better. For health neuer dwells with delights; nor strength, ioyne hands with choice fare. Nor shall hee euer doe any famous Acts, and worthy renowne, that feares to take paines, and is willing to take his ease. The Emperour *Hadrian*, was singular herein. *Frigora enim, & tempestates, ita patienter tulit, vt nunquam caput tegeret*: Hee did indure colds, and all kinde of fowle weather with that patience, that hee neuer put on his hatt, but alwayes went bare-headed. And *Alexander* the Great, would tell his Soldiars that it was for lazy Companions, and effe-

Plin.

minate

minate fellowes, to apply themselues to the pleasures and contentments of this life; but for Noble hearts, and generous spirits, to accustome themselues to labour, and to take paines. In a word, Temperance is a vertue very necessarie for all estates; it will sute well with all: but more particularly with Kings, and Princes, and great persons; because it is in it selfe a vertue so gentleman-like, so worthy Noble persons, and so proper for royall Maiestie. As likewise, for that they liue, as they doe, amidst so many regalos, and delights, so many curious meates, and a thousand other occasions, whereby, if they doe not arme themselues with this vertue, not onely their liues, but their soules, are like to incurre the great danger. For like theeues in a mans owne house, or close traitours lurking in secret corners, some while one, some while another, are neuer from their elbow, till they deliuer them ouer into the hands of death; or at least hoxe their courage, and cut off their health. Which in good Kings so much importeth, and which all men desire may be long and prosperous. The want whereof in a particular person importeth little; but in them it mattereth much, in regard of the great losse which the Commonwealth thereby receiueth. For on their welfare, dependeth the generall comfort and gouernment of the whole kingdome, which when it is wanting in them, that want is common to all.

Let then the conclusion of this discourse be, That Kings ought to keepe an orderly and temperate diet, hauing more regard to the law of Nature, and vnto Christian reason, then to their greatnes of state, and Maiestie of Empire; And to carry themselues amidst so many occasions of pleasures and delights with that modestie and moderation, as if they were without them, if they haue a minde to preserue their bodies and their soules healths; and to giue vnto all a good example; which is another (as already hath beene said) so powerfull a remedy for to perswade other Princes and Potentates

tentates of his kingdome, to the embracing of this vertue. And besides that obseruation of *Hipocrates*, *Quod plures cecidit gula, quam gladius*: That surfeiting hath killed more then the sword. Let those that place all their care in these their delights and pleasures, consider that saying of *Cato*, That our much carefulnesse in this, causeth much forgetfulnesse of God. And there are some that count it an honour and reputation vnto them to eate and to drinke, (though *Sanitas est animæ & corporis sobrius potus*) and because they are great in estate, they will also be great feeders. Which indeed is not Greatnesse, nor Lordlinesse, but great basenesse, and vnbeseeming their authoritie, to suffer themselues to be giuen to gluttony, and to the excesse of eating and drinking. Saint *Bernard* did blesse himselfe, and much wonder, at so much time and wealth as herein was spent; and at so many Cookes, and other Officers, herein employed. And that he should be the most commended, and best rewarded, that could inuent any other new kinde of choice dish, then had by gluttonies curious enquiry been as yet found out. And all to giue gust to the Gust, and to please the palate, with the losse of their honour, the wasting of their wealth, and to their great hurt both of bodies and soules. But these must I inroll in the list of vnfortunate persons, and account that kingdome happy (as the wise man saith) where the King and his Peeres liue soberly and temperately. *Beata terra, cuius Rex nobilis est, & cuius Principes vescuntur in tempore suo, ad reficiendum, & non luxuriandum*: Blessed art thou (O Land) when thy King is the sonne of Nobles, and thy Princes eate in due season, for strength, and not for drunkennesse.

Eccl. 10.17.

CHAP.

S. II.

Of another remedie against excesses, and superfluities, depending on the example of Kings.

A King being (as hath beene said) the soule and heart of a kingdome, and like another Sunne, which with its light and motion, affoords light and health to the world, being the true picture and liuely Image of God vpon earth; and he that is most (being iust) like vnto him, hath a great and precise obligation lying vpon him, both by his life and example, to giue life vnto his kingdome, and to set himselfe, as a patterne, before his subiects, that, and they, being that mysticall bodie, whereof he is the head. And see what dependencie the members in mans bodie haue on the head; the same, or little lesse, haue subiects on their Kings. And if that be sound and good, it is well with all the members; but if ill affected, all of them suffer with it. The Prouerbe saith, *Cum caput dolet, catera membra dolent*. When the head aketh, the rest of the members ake with it. And as it is so true, as nothing more, so is it more in Commonwealths, then mens bodies. For, as the humours of these are in or out of order, according to those which the head communicateth vnto them. So likewise the composition of a whole kingdome, dependeth on the good or ill composition of their King and Head. Whence it followeth, that the same necessitie which a body hath of a good head, the very selfesame hath a kingdome of a good King; being that he as hee is King (as already hath beene deliuered) doth therein supply the Office of the Head. And therefore it was well said of *Plato*, That the inclining of a King to

good, or ill, is the inclining of the whole kingdome, according to his ſcale or ballance; they bend all the ſame way, & follow him, as the ſhadow doth the body. *Mouetur cũ Principe mobile vulgus.* As the Prince moues, ſo doth the wauering multitude. In vaine do we ſeeke to rectifie the ſhadow, if the body be crooked. The waues of the ſea, go that way as the winde driues them; and the vulgar are led along by the example of thoſe their Kings, that gouerne them. *Aquæ multæ populi ſunt.* The common people are as many waters. The ſpirit and winde that moues them, is the King, who with great force carries the mindes of his ſubiects this way or that way, as beſt pleaſeth him. By onely ſeeing Saint *Peter* abſtaine from ſome meate, and eate of other ſome, without commanding it, or ſaying any thing thereof to thoſe new conuerted Chriſtians, Saint *Paul* ſaith, that he carried them away, and drew them to doe the like. For, there is neither Law, nor Precept, nor force, can be compared with that which the example of a King works vpon his ſubiects, forcing them to imitate and follow him. King *Manaſſes* (ſaith the ſacred Text) *fecit malum coram Domino*: He did that which was euill in the ſight of the Lord; for he forſooke him to follow ſtrange Gods, like vnto the abhomination of the heathen. And anon after drawes thence this conſequence or concluſion: *Igitur Manaſſes ſeduxit populum, vt faceret malum*: So *Manaſſes* made *Iudah*, and the Inhabitants of Ieruſalem to erre, and doe worſe then the heathen, &c. But tell me, I pray, how came it to paſſe, that this King ſhould caſt ſuch a miſt before his ſubiects eyes, that he ſhould thus deceiue them, and make them doe as he did? For we doe not finde there, that he ſaid any one word vnto them, or induced them thereunto by any other diligences, whereby to perſwade them to commit the like ſinne. Though he did not, yet he did enough, in doing that which he did, as being their King and Head. For, as the Soueraigne doth, ſo doth the ſubiect. King *Hamor*, and

Galat. 2. 14.

2 Chron. 33. 9.

Prince

Prince *Shechem* his sonne, by their bare example onely perswaded their people the Shechemites, to leaue that law, wherein they had beene bred and brought vp, and to entertaine that of the Hebrewes, though it turned to the losse of all their liues. Of Kings, saith a Romane Philosopher, *Quæcunque vitia ipsi concipiunt, ea infundunt in ciuitates; plus exemplo, quam peccata nocent.* What soeuer vices they conceiue, they infuse the same into their Cities, offending more by their example then by their sinne. By the sinne, they doe but aggrauate and wrong their owne conscience; but by the example, the consciences of all the common people, which haue no other eyes whereby they see, no other rule or square whereby to rule and gouerne themselues in their actions; Nor is there any other meanes, whereby vices are communicated with more facilitie, and larger licence. And therefore it concernes them very much, not to make any the least breach in good manners, nor to turne (though neuer so little aside) from the way of vertue. For they cannot build vp so fast by their good, as they pull downe by their bad example. Besides, the vulgar iudge their vitious actions, for vertuous; their bad, for good. And if not so, then will they iustifie their owne looseneſſe, by laying the same on their King: Hee doth thus and thus, And why should not I? This same *Regis ad exemplum*, runnes ouer all the world; and men are willing enough to make their aduantage of it. Of *Dionysius* the *Siracusan*, *Plutarch* reporteth, that at first he was very studious, and much giuen to his booke, and whilest hee so continued, all his subiects applied themselues to the exercise of good letters. But growing weary of so good a worke, he left off his learning, and betooke himselfe to the vice of gaming and wantonneſſe; and presently all his subiects, as if they had beene bewitched, began to loath their bookes, and fall to vice. *Isidorus* saith of the Ethiopians, that they were such Apish counterfeits of their Kings, that they held it a kinde of reproach

Iulius lib. 3. de Legibus.

proach and infamie, that if their King did want a member, or were lame, all his houshold seruants were likewise of that fashion; and would willingly mayme and dismember themselues that they might be like vnto their King.

I say therefore againe, Let Kings looke well vnto that which they affect, and whereunto they are inclined; for the same will his Subiects affect, and thereunto will they all be inclined. And therefore *Isocrates* did counsell his King, that hee should loue and esteeme the Arts, and such Offices as might be most profitable for the commonwealth, and should abhorre the contrary; for these would bring him augmentation of honour, when those other would bee forgotten, or but ript vp to his shame, that he should approue good, and reproue bad customes, and euill manners, that these might fall, and those other be in vse. For in regard that the King is *Censor morum*, he that censures our manners and behauiour, and sets downe and determineth, which we are to flie, which to follow: Looke which he approueth, and keepeth, are kept and approued by all, and euery one does his best to excell therein. And those which he shall reproue and mislike, all men will shunne and auoide them. And more particularly, these two pernicious ones, which appertaine to Tasting and Touching, I desire to haue them be condemned and reproued by the example of Kings; such as are excesse in sumptuousnesse of apparell, and in meates and drinkes, and the like publike and common vices. For, by these two abuses, great Monarchies haue beene ruined, and ouerthrowne.

Let vs fall a little vpon the first; wherein is such excesse and superfluitie in this age, as neuer more. Howbeit, as it was not wanting to former times, so was there a great deale of care taken for the reforming thereof. Your Romanes made Lawes, for to moderate the expences and excesses of apparrell and diet. The imperiall Lawes of the kingdome, and those of the *Partida* prohibite it, and many other *prematicas* and Statute Lawes, which haue beene made thereupon, and confirmed

firmed by Act of Parliament. And the ſacred Scripture likewiſe in many places doth condemne it. And therefore a remedie in this kinde (if poſſibly it can bee procured) is very needfull: For exceſſe, doth not ſerue ſo much for ſuſtentation, as for pompe and oſtentation, wherewith is fomented Ambition, vaineglory, concupiſcence, and diſhoneſtie, euen to the falling into thoſe vices, that were neuer before ſeene, or vſed. Their expence, that increaſeth, and their ſubſtance decreaſeth: what wealth can a man haue, that will ſuffice for the arraying and apparrelling of women, as alſo for the clothing of men, which is no leſſe vicious, and expencefull then theirs? What doth it benefit vs, that the riches of our times are greater then thoſe of our predeceſſours, if our expences be more exceſſiue? By running on in this lauiſh courſe, great and ancient houſes haue beene brought to nothing, and new ones haue ſtarted vp in their roome, borne and bred in bad Trades, and worſe manners, who alwayes haue a ſmacke with them, or ſome touch or other of their former meaner fortune. And for this cauſe onely, are there ſo many misfortunes and diſorders in the houſes of many your ordinary and common ſort of people, and euen in ſome of thoſe that are of meaner ranke. For they had rather periſh and vndoe themſelues, then to be accounted needy and poore. And without doubt, the moſt of their ſubſtance is ſpent in meate, and clothes. Which vice ſhame would moderate in them. But the feare of ſeeming to be of leſſe abilitie then their neighbours, hath quite altered the caſe, and ſerues to helpe them on to their ruine. For euery one counts it a diſgrace vnto him, that he ſhall not go as well clad as his neighbour, and eate as good meate, and drinke as good drinke as he doth, though he pay ſoundly for it, both in his honour and eſtate. And hence proceede your briberies, corruptions, ſubornations, and iniuſtice. For neceſſitie, the mother of vice, and that which makes (as we ſay) the old wife trott; putts them ſo hard to their ſhifts, that for to free themſelues from want, there is not that wickedneſſe

which they will not giue way vnto; and all, becauſe they will not lacke theſe inſtruments of their guſtes, nor want the apparence of Maieſtie in their houſes.

And another no leſſe miſchiefe then the former, is the inequalitie in the eſtates, and qualities of the perſons; and the equalitie wherewith the ſaid accoutrements both in meate and apparrell is vſed. For (as *Plato* ſaith) in a well ordered common wealth, all ought to be equall. And yet we ſee, that meane women, that haue neither meanes nor qualitie, weare Kirtles, Peticoates, and Gownes of cloth of gold, and rich imbroderies, that Queenes can ſcarce weare better. And as for our ordinary ſort of men, there are very few of them, but will go in ſuch good clothes, that Kings can not bee better clad. Of the Emperour *Tiberius Cæſar*, *Tacitus* reporteth, that by a Decree of the Senate, he did prohibite men the wearing of gownes of ſilke, ſaying, That they did diſgrace themſelues by putting on ſuch an effeminate habite. And of the Emperour *Aurelius* it is noted, that hee did not onely not weare ſilke, but would not ſo much as ſuffer any to be in his wardrope, ſaying, That hee would not buy clothes at the weight of gold. And *Lampridius* ſaith, That the firſt Emperour that euer had any Wardrobe, was that wicked and luxurious Emperour *Heliogabalus*. *Scipio Aphricanus*, and *Alexander Magnus*, were very ſingular in this careleſſe manly weare, whereof others are ſo curiouſly carefull. And let vs ſay no more hereof, then what *Iſocrates* ſaid, writing to his King, Haue a care (ſaith he) of the things of particular perſons, and thinke that thoſe that liue at high and exceſſiue rates, waſte and ſpend out of thy treaſure; and that thoſe that take paines to ſcrape vp a little mucke, and to get into ſome wealth by their thrift, are the onely men that fill your coffers, and increaſe your treaſure. For the Subiects purſe is as the Kings owne purſe, if he rule and gouerne well. But when men ſhall not haue meanes ſufficient for to ſupply that exceſſe in diet, and clothes, which vice and mans fooliſh pride hath introduced,

troduced, how is it possible that they should serue and assist their King in the necessary occasions of the kingdome? it is impossible but that there must be a failing in the one, being that the ends are so opposite. How can they haue any heart or guste for the one, hauing placed all their care and content in the other? And questionlesse, if these superfluities were taken away, the Subiect would haue wealth enough, and then it would neuer grieue them to part with part thereof to their Kings, or to spend it in his seruice. But that which is now permitted amongst vs, is the same which the Romans permitted, and procured in the Nations, they had subdued, for to consume and eate them out, and to keepe them in the better obedience. But in their owne commonwealth they did euermore feare it, and seeke to excuse it. What Prince hath there euer beene, either of those that were held to be good or indifferent, that did not treate of this remedie? Not any. Yet they did most of them erre in the manner.

Now, to remedie this excesse, experience hath and doth shew vnto vs, that it is not the penaltie, nor rigour of the Lawes and Statutes that our Ancestours seemed to haue erred in, who by those penalties alone, thought to amend these extrauagancies in their subiects. But the cure of this exorbitancie is that which the Ancient did prescribe, and we haue declared, touching the example of Kings, and of their imitation. The desire of giuing them content, is more powerfull with them then the feare of punishment. This doctrine, *Tacitus* taught, rendering the reason of that temperance and moderation, which was in the Emperour *Vespasian* his time in clothes and diet, and in the vitious superfluitie of these vices. And after that he hath gone varying from one reason to another, he saith, That this Prince was the principall Author of that sparingnesse and thriftinesse amongst the Romanes of those times in their wastfull expences; by exercising himselfe in that their ancient manner of liuing in matter of maintenance, apparell and the like. And hence it succeeded,

that

that all his subiects did the like, conforming themselues according to his fashion, their respect to their Prince, and their desire to imitate him, preuailing more with them, then the punishment or feare of the Lawes. And this is a sure and sound point of doctrine, and of that great consequence, that it neuer ought to slip out of the memorie and good liking of Kings, and their principall Ministers, as being the mirrour or looking glasse wherein the Subiects see and behold whether their manners be foule or faire, become or not become them, according to the liking which they take from their superiours.

Of *Augustus Cæsar*, *Dion* reporteth, That because hee would not weare such clothes, as were prohibited by his Lawes, there was not a man in all his Empire that did offer to put them on. *Componitur Orbis* (saith *Claudian*) *Regis ad exemplar, nec sic inflectere sensus Humanos edicta valent, quàm vita regentis.* The whole world shapes and fashions it selfe according to the patterne their King sets before them; nor can Edicts and Decrees worke so much vpon mens humours, as the life of him that ruleth. Of all the reasons whatsoeuer that the wit of man can deuise, there is not any more effectuall to perswade hard and difficult things, then the example of Kings. Let therefore a Prince lay a more hard and cruell punishment vpon them, then either imprisonment, banishment, or some sound fine, or pecuniary mulct, as not to doe them any grace or fauour, or not to affoord a good looke on him, that shall not imitate and follow his fashion. For there is no man such a foole, that will loose the fruite of his hope, for not apparelling himselfe after this or that manner, as he sees the Prince himselfe is contented to go. Let Kings amend this fault in themselues, and then his Peeres, and other their inferiours, will not be ashamed to imitate them. I pray tell me, if men of the baser and meaner condition should onely be those, that were vicious in their meate and clothes, who would imitate them therein? Assuredly none. All would be

Noblemen,

Noblemen, or Gentlemen, or at least seeme to be so in their fashion and apparrell, howbeit they would bee lesse curious and dainty, if they saw those that were noble, or gentile, go onely plaine and handsome. That ancient Romane, pure, neate, cleane, and comely attire of those who conquered the world, did then wholly loose it selfe, when your great and Noble persons of that common wealth left it off. For in all things, but more especially in those that are vicious, men seeke to make a fairer shew then their estate will beare, and thereby procure to content and please their Kings vnder whom they liue, knowing that there is no intercession or fauour like vnto that, as the familiancie of manners, and the kindred which this doth cause. Let Kings, by their example, cut off the vse of costly clothes and sumptuous banquets, and whatsoeuer in that kinde is vicious and superfluous, and they shall straightway see, how a great part of the greedinesse of gaine, and couetousnesse of money will cease, and many other euils and mischiefes which proceed from thence, which would not be sought after nor esteemed, were it not for the execution of the appetite, and fulfilling of our pleasures. And for this end and purpose, money is kept with such great anxietie and trouble, but procured and sought after with much more; because it is the master and commander of all pleasures and delights whatsoeuer. For which we will buy and sell, and giue all that we haue.

The second point concerning vices and sinnes, common and publike, the hurt that comes thereby is well knowne both to God and man, and is harder to be reformed then the former. That, is moderated either with age or necessitie; but this, neither necessitie nor time can lessen, but with it increaseth, and shooteth forth new sprigges and suckers, neuer before seene, nor vsed in the world, against which neither suffice Lawes nor Statutes. And that doctrine of *Tacitus* is now come to bee verified, That there is not any greater signe of corruption of manners, then multiplicitie of Lawes. And

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we now liue in those dangerous times, whereof Saint *Paul* speaketh, and I know not whether I may be so bold as to say, That it is likewise an argument or signe, that the Subiect is neare it's end, or at least daily growes decaying, wherein these signes and tokens are to bee seene; One disorder begetting another, which is the order which Nature keepes with things that are to perish, till at last all comes to ruine; and this vniuersall fabricke sinkes to the bottome, neuer more to be repaired. I wot well, that whilest there be men, there must be vices, and sinnes, and that few or none will cease to bee that which they are, in regard of humane weakenesse, and mans propension and inclination to sinne, and that there are not any remedies which will serue and turne wholly to cure and cut them off, it being a thing impossible, for that their beginning and cause doth proceed from Nature it selfe being corrupted. That which the worth and wisedome of Kings, and their Ministers, may be able to effect, is, That they may daily preuent lesse and lesse preiudiciall to the publike: and that the dissembling of abuses in the beginning, before they take head, be not a cause of seeing our selues brought to that estate, which *Salust* writeth Rome was found in in *Catilines* time, there being so good cause for to feare it: As also that they will draw after them Gods comminations and chastisements. When a kingdome (saith hee) comes to the corruption of manners, that men doe pamper and apparell themselues in curious manner, like women, and make no reckoning of their honestie, but deale therewith as with any other thing that is vendible, or set out to sale; and that exquisite things, for to please the palate, are diligently sought after both by sea and land; that they betake themselues to their ease and sleepe, before the due time of their rest and sleepe be come; that after their bellies be as full as euer they can hold, they neuer cease craning and cramming till it be noone; that they doe not forbeare from eating and drinking, till they be either hungry or thirsty; not that they ease themselues out of weari-

wearineſſe, or keepe themſelues warme againſt the extremity of the weather: but that they do all theſe things out of viciouſneſſe, and before there is neede; well may that Empire be giuen for loſt, and that it is drawing neare to its laſt gaſpe. For the people thereof, when their owne meanes ſhall faile them, for to fulfil their appetites, out of a thirſting and greedy deſire of theſe things, what miſchiefes will not they moue, or what villanies will not they attempt? For the minde that hath beene ill, and long accuſtomed to delights, can hardly be without them. And, that they may enioy them, by hooke or by crooke, by one meanes or another, though neuer ſo vniuſt and vnlawfull, they will make a ſhift to get themſelues into money, though they ſpend it afterward idly & vainly in that profuſe and lauiſh manner, for which they did intend it.

Let euery good King begge of God, and let vs all ioyne in the ſame prayer, that in our times, it may not come to theſe termes, and that Kings will ſtriue and ſtudie to quench theſe ſparkes before they breake forth into a flame, and to put out the fire whileſt it is but newly kindled, leſt it take hold on the whole building, and helpe come too late. And becauſe there are ſo many ſortes of vices, that it is not poſſible to procure an vniuerſall cure for them all; that which is likelieſt to doe moſt good, will bee that ſelfe ſame medicine mentioned before in dyet and apparrell, to wit, the good example of Kings; and in imitation of them, that of the great Lords of the land, and thoſe that are neareſt in Court about their perſons; ioyning herewith the feare of their diſfauour: letting them both ſee and know, that the vicious fall backward, and the vertuous come forward in honour; and that onely vertue is the true meanes and ſureſt way to bring men to great place and preferrement in the commonwealth. Let Kings hate theſe idle droanes, theſe honey-ſuckers of other mens labours, that liue all vpon the waſte and ſpoile. Which kinde of people, euen in reaſon of ſtate, are not good for the quiet of a kingdome, in regard of the euill cogitations and dangerous deui-

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ſes that are bred in their mindes, and in their time breake out. I would haue this imitation to bee the remedie for this ſo great an ill; for neither penalties nor feare of puniſhment will doe any good vpon them. For hee that will not forbeare to ſinne for feare of Gods Law, will hardly refraine from mans. Let Kings therefore ſay and doe thoſe things, that they would haue their Subiects ſay and doe. And let their fauourites, and thoſe that are neareſt about them, runne the like courſe, and let it extend to the better ſort, and thoſe that are of ranke and qualitie; for by this meane it will deſcend to thoſe likewiſe that are of meaner condition: and then ſhall they ſee, how much more good it will worke, then either lawes or puniſhment. And this is the more naturall of the two; for the one is founded vpon imitation, and the other grounded vpon feare. And men doe more eaſily imitate thoſe better things which they ſee actually put in execution, then depart from thoſe worſer things, which they either heare or know to be prohibited. And when they ſhall ſee that their ſuperiours, and thoſe that are in place and authoritie, command one thing and doe another, they neither dread their threatnings, nor obey their commandements. For perceiuing that they doe but imitate their actions, they perſwade themſelues that none can, without bluſhing, puniſh the ſame ſinne in them. *Saluſt* did aduiſe *Cæſar* in the entrance to his Empire, that if he would order his common wealth aright, he ſhould firſt of all begin with reformation in himſelfe, and his; (as *Pliny* ſaith) *Vita Principis cenſura eſt, eaque perpetua; ad hanc dirigimur, ad hanc conuertimur.* The life of a Prince is a perpetuall cenſure; and according thereunto doe we guide and gouerne our ſelues. And let it not ſeeme vnto any, that this remedie of the imitation of Kings is ſlow, and long, and will aske a great deale of time; for where there is met together, as it were in it's center, whatſoeuer may corrupt and hurt that, which is capable of being corrupted, when as neither Kings nor their Lawes are able to hinder it, in vaine is it indeuoured,

Plin. Jun. lib. Epiſt. ad ſemp. Ruſum.

indeuoured, or to be imagined, that that may bee cured in a few yeares, which hath layen ſicke ſo many. But till ſuch time, as men grow vp like new plants, and haue accuſtomed themſelues to vertue, to the end, that through the tenderneſſe of their youth they may not grow awry; Being therein likewiſe holpen, by the example of their betters; for there is not any Artifice, ſo powerfull and effectuall, as that of imitation, which I now ſpeake of; for it being a cure ſo conformable vnto nature, it will worke by degrees; whereof we ſhall not know the benefit, till we haue enioyed it.

And becauſe there are both diſeaſed perſons, and diſeaſes (as Saint *Chryſoſtome* hath obſerued) which are neither remedied by ſweet potions, nor purged away by bitter pills; A maine reaſon whereof is, becauſe they themſelues are not willing to be cured, nor will admit of the example of Kings, nor the feare of their Lawes: it is fit this other remedie ſhould be vſed, of puniſhment and chaſtiſement, without diſſimulation. For many times the motiue of ſinning is the facilitie of forgiuing. And it is a knowne caſe, that people by puniſhment become obedient; but by pardoning, proud and inſolent. The ill and vicious, are ſo poſſeſſed and inabled in their vices, by their long continuance, that if Kings ſhould not ſhew ſome mettall and courage, they would poſſeſſe the world, and carry all things away before them, in that violent manner, that the good ſhould not be able to liue amongſt thē. By chaſtiſing the bad, (ſaith *Baldus*) the good liue in ſafety. And for this cauſe (and not in vaine) according to *Plato*, and others, were Lawes inſtituted, and regall power, the ſtroke of the ſword, the diſcipline of the Clergie, and the common hangmans whip, all of them as neceſſary for mans life, as thoſe 4. Elements, by which we liue & breathe. Let Kings take this from me, and beleeue it, That that commonwealth is in great danger, where the Kings reputation goes decaying; and the force of Iuſtice looſeth it's ſtrength. For thereby vices aſſume licence vnto themſelues; and their owners perſeuere, and

Chryſoſt. homi 19. in Gen.

Bald. in l. Prouinciarum C, de ſtrys.

and go on in them. Here a remisse Prince is a sharpe sword, and doth neuer more grieuously punish then when hee doth most pardon. Punishment and chastisement onely offend the delinquent; but remission, *la ley, el Rey, y la Grey*, the Law, King, and people. By remission, Lawes and Kings grow in contempt, and the whole commonwealth infected. Whereas by chastisement the Law is obeyed and kept; the King feared and honoured; and the kingdome maintained in peace and iustice. I doe not treat here of those cruell and rigorous punishments which some seuere Iudges inflict, for remedies and cures of so much rigour, are violent, and do sooner kill, and make an end of their Subiects, then heale and recouer them by little and little. Wherefore in point of correction, a commonwealth must vse a great deale of caution and prudence. And for that hee who pretends by maine strength to resist the furious current of a swift riuer; or by roughnesse, to tame a head-strong horse, shall shew himselfe as insolent, as impertinent; rigour with gentlenesse, and iustice with mercie, will doe well: which if they go not hand in hand, and kisse each other, they are both but the occasion of greater corruption. For it is an erronious discourse in those that thinke, that publike conseruation consisteth in the execution of cruell chastisements, and sharpe and rigorous sentences, bee they of death or otherwise; For these doe rather dispeople, and desolate, then correct and amend a kingdome. And as it is a signe of bad Physitians, or of a corrupt and infectious aire, to see many fall sicke, and dye; so likewise is it of careless Ministers, and ill preuention, and of a contagious corruption of vices, and euill manners, when there are many criminall iudgements, many punishments, and cruell chastisements. And who is he that knowes the principall cause thereof? it may bee this, or it may bee that, or all together, howsoeuer I am sure it is all ill. And in a word, so great, so vniuersall, and so pernicious an ill, that if Christian Kings carry not a very watchfull eye ouer their Subiects manners,

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in not ſuffering them to flie out, they ſhall not, when they would, be able to refraine them, and remedie what is amiſſe; for euill cuſtome being once habituated (according vnto *Galen*, and others) is an acquired nature, and engendreth an habite, which being mans naturall inclination, carries him along after it; and ſo great is his inclination to delights, and ſo many the prouocations, and ill examples which draw him thereunto, and poure oyle as it were vpon that fire, that if there be not the more diligence and care vſed in the quenching of it, it muſt neceſſarily ſpread it ſelfe abroad, and extend it ſelfe daily more and more, and more eſpecially into thoſe Cities and countries where there is much commerce and trading in Merchandiſe, and in the Courts of Kings, where there is ſuch a concourſe of diuerſe and ſundrie nations, there being not any one of them which hath not it's proper and peculiar vertues, as alſo it's proper and peculiar vices. Their vertues men hardly take hold on; but their vices, thoſe cleaue eaſily vnto them of themſelues: and by this their Commerce and Trading, remaine engrauen in their hearts. And what was before but an inclination, being now become a cuſtome, vice engendreth vice; and one appetite maketh way for another. *Lycurgus* ſaith, That it more importeth a State to ſee that it's Cities bee not infected with the ill cuſtomes and manners of Strangers, then to preſerue them from the plague, the peſtilence, or other the like contagious diſeaſes. For theſe, Time aſſwageth and conſumeth; but thoſe, are with time increaſed and augmented. Three Embaſſadours of the Cretans, each of them being of a different Sect, made their ioynt entrance into Rome. The Senate gaue them audience. And *Cato* being there, whom (for his great authoritie) they did much reuerence, and was indeed as an Oracle amongſt them, gaue his *vote*, and opinion, that hee would haue them diſpatcht thence with all poſſible ſpeed, before the corruption of their manners ſhould corrupt the Romane Commonwealth.

This care ought Kings to take; and ſo much the rather, for that they haue neuer a *Cato*, that will tell them; neuer a Councellour that will aduiſe them, that in no kinde of manner, nor vpon any occaſion whatſoeuer, ought they either in their Court, or kingdome, ſuffer any man (no though hee be an Ambaſſadour) to reſide there, being different in his Religion, manners, and Ceremonies. For their treating and conuerſing with vs, ſerues to no other purpoſe, but to bring in vices, and baniſh vertues, to worke vpon weake and wauering mindes, and to draw the naturall Subiects of another Prince, from Gods true worſhip, and due obſeruance of his diuine Law. And this was the care of the Ancients of thoſe times, who would neuer giue conſent and allowance, that there ſhould bee any thing intertained or receiued into their commonwealths, whereby mens mindes might grow cold, or be withdrawne in any one point or tittle from the worſhip and adoration of their Gods. And very fit for theſe times were that Law of the Perſians, which did puniſh him with death, that ſhould bring in any new vſe, or ſtrange cuſtome. And the Cretans, did in their ordinarie Letanies deſire, that no new cuſtome might enter into their city, which is as a contagious diſeaſe, and cleaueth as cloſe as the plague or peſtilence. Nor did the Lawes of Egypt permit any new tune in their Muſicke, or any new kinde of ſong, vnleſſe they were firſt examined by thoſe that were in place of gouernment. For (as *Plato* affirmeth) a Commonwealth, as well as Muſicke, admitteth changes; And that for the auoiding of this miſchiefe, it ought not to be permitted, that there ſhould be introduced any new kinde of tunes, or Muſicke, together wherewith mens mindes receiue ſome change and alteration. *Ariſtotle* did aduiſe thoſe that wou'd bee vertuous, that they ſhould not vſe Muſicke, nor muſicall inſtruments, to incite them to be vicious. For Muſicke being a diuine gift, and very powerfull to moue the hearts of men, and to perſwade the thing that is ſung, if they accuſtome themſelues to play

Plato Dial. 2. de Legibus.

and

and ſing holy leſſons, & honeſt ſongs, they ther by accuſtome themſelues to be honeſt and vertuous. And therefore anciently your Kings, as *Dauid*, the Prophets, and Prieſts, the better to apply themſelues to contemplation, did vſe Muſicke, wherewith they ſuſpended their ſenſes, and remained as it were ſwallowed vp in God. In a word, many men haue therewith beene robbed of their ſoules, and of their honours, and daily much hurt doth enſue thereby. For it is able to doe much, and greate is the force and power which it hath ouer mens manners. And if you will not beleeue me, obſerue but the hurt, which your new wanton tunes, together with the laſciuious wordes, and geſticulations vſed in them, haue wrought of late amongſt not onely the common, but better ſort of people.

Now to ſhut vp all that hath beene ſaid in three points. Firſt of all I ſay, that it much importeth, that a Prince bee good in himſelfe; for that all men make their Imitation after that patterne that hee ſets before them. And for this cauſe, God placed him in ſo high and eminent a place, to the end that by the reſplendour of his vertues, hee ſhould giue light to the whole kingdome; and that both by his life and example, he ſhould exemplifie and indoctrinate his Subiects: for it is not onely included in the name and office of King, to rule and gouerne the kingdome by good and whoſome Lawes, but likewiſe to teach and inſtruct the people by his vertues. This ought to bee (ſay *Socrates* and *Plato*) the end and ayme of Kings, to direct their Subiects in the truth, they practiſing it firſt themſelues, which is the ſtrongeſt and forcibleſt argument to perſwade it. For the execution of that which is perſwaded and commanded, doth ſecure the paſſage, doth make the worke ſauourie, and doth facilitate the trouble. Secondly, to the end that the Lawes may bee the better kept, Kings muſt obey, and keepe them; for it will ſeeme an vniuſt thing in them, to eſtabliſh and ordaine that, which themſelues will not keepe and obſerue. They muſt

doe as *Lycurgus* did, who neuer enacted any thing which he himselfe did not punctually performe. And it was a Romane Edict; *Vse el Rey de la Ley, que hiziere para la grey*: Let the King that law keepe, which he makes for his sheepe: Lastly, that they bee very carefull and watchfull ouer the whole kingdome, but more particularly ouer the Court; for from thence is diffused all the good, or ill; as likewise in curtalling the excesses of apparrell, the superfluities of feasts and banquets, of gaming, of sports, and pastimes, of lightnesse in behauiour, of licentiousnesse in courting of women, and of those wastefull expences which might very well be excused, in weddings, in iewells, and dressings both in the women and the men. Then began Rome to grow ranke in Luxurie, and prophanenesse, when your gilded bed-steds, your costly pauilions, your stately canopies, your ritch hangings, your curious tables, your glorious cupboords of plate, your gybing Iesters, and your various Instruments of Musicke were brought in, which were then in great vse and request, for to prouoke and stirre vp the appetite in those their tedious and sumptuous suppers; as if, for to go to hell, there were neede of such a wind-lace, or wheeling about, the way being (as it is) so easie and direct, that a man may go it blindfold. Causes all of them of iust feare, and fore-runners likewise of the ruine and perdition of any Monarchy whatsoeuer, as they haue beene heretofore of others that haue been ouerthrowne by the like meanes.

But to conclude with this sense, and to shut vp the doore likewise to all the rest; wee are to presuppose that, which is very common both in diuine and humane Letters, That by the hands, wherein particularly consists the Touching, are vnderstood workes; because they are the Instruments by which they are done. *Moses* deliuering vnto vs, that the Hebrewes did see the wonders which God had wrought in their
Exod. 14. 31. fauour, saith, *Viderunt manum magnam, quam exercuerat Dominus:* They saw that great worke (which the originall renders,

renders, that great hand) which the Lord exerciſed vpon the Ægyptians. And beſides this, it hath another ſignification (as is obſerued by *Pierius Valerianus*) an open hand, being the Symbole of eloquence; expreſſing that efficacy, and perſwaſiue power that lies in well couched words. Works and words being both very neceſſary in Kings, Execution in the one, and Elocution in the other. And becauſe all Princes cannot performe theſe offices of doing and ſaying, by themſelues, they muſt haue another tongue, and other hands, by which they muſt ſpeake, and doe; and the tongue whereby they muſt ſpeake; and the hands, whereby they muſt touch, and handle all things (for their owne are not able to doe it) muſt bee their fauourites. *Policratus*, in his booke directed to *Traiane*, ſaith, That your great Lords in Court, and Kings fauourites, are the hands of the kingdome. And, as in mans body, they are naturally diſpoſed, and ready prepared for to ſuccour and aſſiſt all the other members; ſo they ſhould be at hand for to helpe and relieue all the neceſſities of the kingdome, and to be the formoſt in all dangers, and a thouſand other occaſions that will offer themſelues, which neither are, nor can bee wanting to Kings and kingdomes. And therefore the Philoſopher ſaid of the hands, that they are the Inſtrument of Inſtruments. For without them nothing can be done; neither can Kings of themſelues do all. They haue need of their Miniſters, and Fauourites, which are their feet, and their hands. In the ſubſequent Chapters, we ſhall diſcourſe ſomewhat a little of them. God grant, that little, or ſomewhat, what ere it bee, may worke ſome good. And firſt of all we will treate, whether it be fitting to haue Fauourites.

Pier. lib. 35. Tit. Opus.

Chap. XXXI.

Whether it be fit for Kings to haue Fauourites.



Fauourites being (as they are) the workmanship of Kings, receiuing their forme and fashion from their good liking; which creatures of their making, wee haue mentioned in the former Chapter. We shall handsomely fall here vpon that which in this is put to the question. Nor is the answer thereunto very easie. For a Fauourite being of the same nature, as a particular friend, and friendship being to bee *inter aquales*, betweene those that are of equall condition, it seemeth that those that are Subiects and seruants to their King and Master can not hold it with him; whom they are to behold, and treate with, with a great deale of reuerence, respecting alwayes his royall Maiestie, which (according to that other Poet) *No cabe en vn saco con el Amor*; is not in one and the same sacke with loue. And without loue, there is no friendship. True it is that *Aristotle* and some other Philosophers affirme, that this difference may easily bee reconciled, forasmuch as hee that is in the higher and more eminent place, may stoope so low, and fashion himselfe in that euen measure to his Inferiour, that they may both remaine vpon equall tearmes. But this can hardly square and suite well with Kings towards their Fauourites. For, as it were an *indecorum*, and vnseemely thing in a humane bodie, that the head should abase it selfe, and become equall with the shoulder; so, were it prodigious and monstrous, that Kings, which are Heads, and hold that Soueraignetie which God hath giuen them, should stoope so low to their Subiects, that the eminencie should not appeare

which

they haue ouer them. And that other meanes which may be vſed in rayſing a ſubiect, or Fauorite to that hight that hee may be equall with his King, bringeth with that a great inconuenience. For a Crowne & Scepter royall, cannot endure any fellowſhip with equality. And therefore theſe two meanes may pare and fit well with friends, that hauing profeſſed friendſhip, when their eſtates were equall, the one growes inferiour to the other, eyther good fortune, or good diligence, hauing preferred his fellow and friend. But with Kings there cannot be held this correſpondency and equality. And it is King *Salomons* counſaill, who ſaith; That it is not fitting for any man to entertaine friendſhip and communication, with thoſe that are too mighty. *Ditiori te, ne ſocium fueris; Quid communicabit cacabus ad ollam? Quando enim ſe colliſerint, confringetur:* Haue no fellowſhip with one that is mightier and richer then thy ſelfe. For how agree the Kettle and the earthen Pot together? For, if the one bee ſmitten againſt the other, it ſhall be broken. And againe, if you will but diligently obſerue the ſacred hiſtory of the Kings which were ouer Gods people, you ſhall there finde little mention of Fauorites. On the other ſide, it will likewiſe ſeeme vnreaſonable, that kings ſhould be debarr'd that, without which (to all mens ſeeming) mans life cannot bee well paſt ouer. *Nemo ſine amicis, ſpectet viuere;* (ſaid the ſaid Philoſopher) Let no man looke to liue without friends. And the holy Scriptures are full of the commoditie, and benefit, which faithfull friends afford, being as neceſſary for the life of man, as fire, and water; and for no eſtate ſo important, as for that of Kings, who for that they haue ſo many, ſo weighty, and ſo ſecret buſineſſes, their eſtate were intollerable, and more then they were able to beare, if they might not haue the libertie of hauing friends, with whom they might communicate, and by whom they might receiue ſome eaſe, of thoſe troubles, and care, which great offices (ordinarily) bring with them.

Now for to giue satisfaction vnto that which is here pretended to be auerred, we are to consider, That *Aristotle*, and other, both Philosophers and Diuines teach (which is no more then what experience plainly prooues vnto vs) That there are two sorts of Loue, or friendship; The one Interessall, or *cum fœnore*, whose end, is its proper profit. The other hath with it a more gentile & noble intent, which is, to loue and wish well to that which deserueth to bee beloued: and this is called *Amor amicitiæ*, the loue of friendship. The other, *Amor concupiscentiæ*, the loue of concupiscence. And with very good reason, for that therein there is not to be found the face of true friendship. From these two Loues, as from two diuerse rootes, spring forth two different sorts of Fauorites. The one, who for their great parts and qualities haue deserued to carry after them, not only the good wills and affections of their equals, but euen of Kings themselues. And when these abilities are so extraordinary and aduantagious, no man can deeme it inconuenient that Kings should more particularly, and in a more extraordinary manner, apply their affection vnto them. Nay, it would rather lay a spot and blemish vpon them, if notice should be taken, that they equally entertaine all, or not esteeme and prize them most that merit most to be esteemed. For in all good reason, there is no greater inequality, then to equall all alike.

Plato said very well, That there is not any virtue of that force and efficacie, for to catch and steale away mens hearts. Nor herein doe we need the testimonies of Philosophers, for the holy Ghost saith, *Vt mors, est dilectio*, loue is strong as death. The coales thereof are coales of fire, which hath a most vehement flame, it beares all away before it. And in this its force and strength, friendship and loue are much alike. And building on this ground, I say; That very well there may be said to bee friendship betweene a King and a Fauorite; for that their soules haue in their birth and beginning, or (as I may say, their first originall) equall nobleness.

And

And your nobleſt friendſhip proceeds from the ſoule. Very famous and much celebrated was that friendſhip betwixt Prince *Ionathan* (the onely heire of the kingdome) and that worthy noble *Dauid*. And ſo great was the loue that was betweene them, that the ſacred Scripture ſaith, That *anima Ionatha conglutinata erat anima Dauid, & dilexit eum Ionathas quaſi animam ſuam.* The ſoule of *Ionathan* was knit with the ſoule of *Dauid*; and that *Ionathan* loued him, as his owne ſoule. And I further affirme, that it is very fit and conuenient that Kings ſhould loue thoſe with aduantage, that haue the aduantage of others in vertue, wiſedome, and learning. And ſuch ſhould be thoſe, that ſerue and attend the perſons of Princes; for ordinarily, out of that Nurſery are theſe plants your Fauourites drawne. When *Nabuchadnezzar*, King of Babilon, beſieged and tooke by force of armes the Citie of Ieruſalem, he carried away from thence great ſpoiles of gold and ſiluer; but that, which hee much more prized then all this Treaſure, were the ſonnes of the chiefeſt Noblemen, and ſuch as were lineally deſcended of the Kings of that kingdome; and gaue eſpeciall order, that they ſhould chooſe and cull out thoſe that had the beſt and ableſt parts, both of nature and acquiſition; thoſe that were of the beſt diſpoſition, the moſt learned, and beſt taught, to the end that being accompanied with theſe good qualities, they might merit to attend in the Court and Chamber of the King. *Et ait Rex Aſphenez Præpoſito Eunuchorum, vt introduceret de filijs Iſrael, & de ſemine Regio, & Tyrannorum pueros, in quibus nulla eſſet macula, decoros forma, & eruditos omni ſapientia, cautos ſcientia, & doctos diſciplina, & qui poſſent ſtare in palatio Regis:* And the King ſpake vnto *Aſhpenez*, the Maſter of his Eunuchs, that hee ſhould bring certaine of the children of Iſrael, and of the Kings ſeed, and of the Princes; Children in whom was no blemiſh, but well-fauoured, and skilfull in all wiſedome, and cunning in knowledge, and vnderſtanding, Science, and ſuch as had abilitie in them to ſtand

1. *Reg.* 18. 2.

Dan. 1. 3.

in

in the Kings palace. And this election fell out so luckily, and proued to be of that profit and benefit, that amongst those which (indewed with these qualities) were made choice of, for to serue the King, there were three of them did excell, but one more then all the rest, not onely in vertue, but in the knowledge likewise of secret businesses, and matters of State and gouernment, which was *Daniel*; who so well deserued to be a Fauourite to those Kings of Babylon, and more especially to *Darius*, that hee did not content himselfe with making him onely a priuie Councellour, but the prime man amongst them. For hauing set ouer the kingdome an 120. Princes, which should bee ouer the whole kingdome, and ouer these, three Presidents (of whom, *Daniel* was first) that the Princes might giue account vnto them, that the King might haue no damage; And as hee was the greatest Subiect and Fauourite in the world, so was hee superiour in the vertues and qualities of his person. *Igitur Daniel superabat omnes Principes & satrapas, quia Spiritus Domini amplior erat in illo:* Therefore was *Daniel* preferred before the Presidents and Princes, because an excellent spirit was in him. The holy Scripture likewise tells vs, that *Ioseph* was such a Fauourite of King *Pharaoh*, that hee gaue him absolute power ouer all his kingdome, and commanded, that in publike pompe he should ride in the Kings owne Chariot, and in his owne seate, and haue a Crier go before to proclaime the fauour that the King was pleased to doe him. *Dixit quoque Rex Ægypti ad Ioseph; Ego sum Pharaoh, absque tuo imperio non mouebit quisquam manum, aut pedem in omni terra.* And *Pharaoh* said vnto *Ioseph*, I am *Pharaoh*, and without thee shall no man lift vp his hand, or foot, in all the land of Ægypt. And well did hee deserue this honour, for by his great industrie and wisedome, he freed that King and kingdome from that terrible famine, besides those many other great and troublesome imployments, wherein he was busied for the space of seuen yeares together. In the fourth booke of

Dan. 6. 3.

Gen. 41. 44.

Kings,

Kings, we reade that *Naaman*, who was Captaine of the hoſt of the King of Syria, was the onely Fauourite of the King; *Erat vir magnus apud Dominum ſuum, & honoratus*: Hee was a great man with his Maſter, and honourable. And rendering the reaſon of this his great priuacie with his King, and the honour he had done him, it is there ſpecified; *Per illum enim dedit dominus ſalutem Syriæ; erat enim vir fortis.* Becauſe by him the Lord had giuen deliuerance vnto Syria; and was alſo a mighty man in valour. For all the life and ſoule that kingdome had, came from him, God vſing him as his inſtrument for his puiſance and prudence. And when Fauourites are of theſe aduantagious abilities, thoſe reaſons and inconueniences doe ceaſe (before mentioned) touching the diſequalitie of Kings, with their Inferiours. For vertue hath this excellence and preheminence; that from the very duſt of the earth it doth lift vp men vnto honour, and doth raiſe them to that height, that it equalls them, and ſets them cheeke by iole with the greateſt Princes in the world. *Sapientia humiliati, exaltabit caput illius, & in medio magnatum conſidere illum faciet*: Wiſedome lifteth vp the head of him, that is of low degree, and maketh him to ſit among great men. *Anna*, that was mother to that great Prieſt and Prophet *Samuel*, amongſt other things which ſhee ſung in the praiſe of God, and his great power, this was one worthy the obſeruation, and well befitting the ſubiect we haue in hand; *Dominus ſuſcitat de puluere egenum, & de ſtercore eleuat pauperem, vt ſedeat cum Principibus, & ſolium gloriæ teneat*: The Lord raiſeth the poore out of the duſt, and lifteth vp the begger from the dunghill, to ſet him among Princes, and to make them inherit the throne of glory. The like note ſings that Kingly Prophet *Dauid*: *Suſcitans à terra inopem, vt collocet eum cum Principibus populi ſui*: He raiſeth vp the poore out of the duſt, and lifteth the needy out of the dunghill. And King *Salomon* his ſonne, ſeconds this of his father in this ſhort Antheme: *Seruus ſapiens, dominabitur filijs ſtultis*:

4. *Reg.* 5. 1.

Eccl. 11. 1.

1. King. 2. 8.

Pſal. 113. 7.

Prou. 17.2. A wise seruant shall haue rule ouer a sonne that causeth shame. So great is the force of wisedome and discretion, that it doth not onely exalt, and raise to greatnesse, men that are free borne (though in a poore meane cottage) but brings euen the baseſt slaues to bee Lords ouer their owne Masters. A certaine Philosopher being taken captiue, was brought forth into the open Market to bee sold, and they that were to buy him, demanded of him, what hee could doe; He told them, That the best thing that he was skild in, was, to command his Masters. In many places of Scripture, is repeated and confirmed the Testimonie of King *Salomons* great power and wisedome; And amongst other things, which are mentioned of the Maiestie of his house and Court, it is said; That therein he had a great many Princes, whose names are registred in the third booke of the Kings. And amongst them there is but one onely that is made remarkable by the name and title of the Kings Fauourite and friend. *Zabud, filius Nathan, amicus Regis*; And *Zabud*, the sonne of *Nathan*, was principall Officer, and the Kings friend. Some Translations in the place of principall Officer, put Priest. And these two titles of Priest, and the Kings friend, are therefore thus ioyned together, that they may giue vs to vnderstand, that the friendship and affection towards a Fauourite, should take it's growth from that learning and vertue which is annexed to the state and condition of the Priest. And in the first booke of the Chronicles, in that Catalogue, which is there made of those which bare principall offices in King *Dauids* Court, it is onely said of *Hushai* the Archite, that hee was the Kings companion. And in the second booke of the Kings, are set downe at large the great and many reasons, why *Hushai* on his part might well deserue this Title. Our Sauiour Christ likewise seemed to make shew of his more particular affection to *Peter*, *Iohn*, and *Iames*, making choice of them from among the twelue, to retire himselfe in priuate with them, and to make them witnesses of his glorious transfiguration; and after-

afterwards of diuers other particular things. Whence it seemeth that they might haue the name of Fauourites; but not without great grounds, and those extraordinary vertues, wherein they out-shined others. Howbeit the choise and election of this supreme King, is not to bee ruled and measured out by that of the Kings of this world; for they can not by the alone power of their loue better men, nor affoord them necessary parts, whereby to merit to bee their friends. But this true King and Lord of all, in placing his good will and affection on those whom hee is pleased to make choice of for his friends, doth likewise indow and adorne them with strong abilities, whereby to bee accounted worthy of his friendship and fauour. Whereas with the Fauourites of the Kings of this world, it fareth cleane contrary. For those, which before they were Fauourites, were good and honest, by their priuacie, and great power with their King, haue come to be starke nought; and the more footing they haue in the Kings friendship, they are vsually the lesse worthy of it. Whereof we shall more in the Chapter following.

Chap. XXXII.

Of another sort of Fauourites.

THose most learned bookes, which the glorious Saint *Austen* writ, *De Ciuitate Dei*, lay before vs two sorts of loue: That loue which man beareth vnto God, euen to the contemning and despising of himselfe; And from this is the constitution and fabricke of that holy Citie of Ierusalem, vnder which name, is vnderstood the good concord and agreement of the Christian Church and commonwealth, as

also

also of all Christian soules. The other loue is that which euery one beareth to himselfe, in that high manner and excesse, that it reacheth euen to the contemning and despising of God. And from this is built that City of Babylon, which is as much to say, as Confusion, & signifieth that, which euery sinner hath within himself, as also that which is in ill ordered commonwealths. And therefore (as wee said in the former Chapter) that from those two Loues of friendship and concupiscence, did issue forth two sorts of Fauourites: The one good and profitable, the other, bad and couetous. So, considering Loue, not in respect of outward things, but in respect of it selfe, it differenceth the vse of Fauourites, according to the different meanes and ends, wherewith, and for which they are made choice of: And the vse likewise, which they make thereof, when they see they are thus aduanced, and receiued into fauour. The meanes haue the denomination of their goodnesse, or badnesse, from their end. Whence it followeth, that when Kings shall make choice of their Fauorites by good meanes, not out of a selfe-humour, or womanish kinde of longing, nor for to please his owne proper affection, but that they may comply the better with those obligations, which they haue to the good dispatch of businesses, and to haue one to helpe them to beare the burthen that lies vpon them; As this end is good, so of force must the meanes likewise bee. For to obtaine good ends, bad meanes are not taken. And therefore Kings shall doe well, in taking such Fauourites vnto them, as shall bee sollicitous, and carefull in the dispatching of businesses, faithfull in their seruices, and endowed with such parts afore specified, as were those Fauourites, recommended vnto you in the former Chapter. For *Ioseph* (as we told you) grew in fauour with King *Pharaoh*, for his great wisedome, and for his supernaturall knowledge of things to come, and reuealing such secret mysteries as other his Ministers could not tell what to make of them. The like befell *Daniel*, with the Caldean, and Macedonian Kings,

Kings, for before euer he became a Fauourite, they saw his great wisedome and constancie in the true seruice of his God, his singular prudence, and those other his good gifts, which are recorded in the booke of his prophesies. The extraordinary graces of *Peter*, *Iohn*, and *Iames*, who is he that is ignorant of them? Being that the Euangelists say of Saint *Peter*, that his extraordinary loue was examined, and proued in those so often repeated questions: *Petre amas me? Simon Iohannis, diligis me plus his?* And againe, *Simon Iohannis, amas me?* And the Apostle Saint *Iames* was the first of the Apostles, that by his bloud and death gaue testimonie of this his loue. And Saint *Iohn* shewed no lesse, at his last Supper, at his passion, and at the foote of the Crosse, hauing followed and accompanied his Master euen to his death, when the rest fled and forsooke him. But when Kings make not choice of their Fauourites for the foresaid ends, and for the publike good, but for their owne particular gusts and humours, and to let loose the reines with more libertie and freedome to their owne delights and pleasures, such kinde of Fauourites set vsually before them the same ends, and commonly preferre their owne priuate gustes and interests before those of their Kings, or the publike good of the commonwealth, and come to be the firebrands and destruction of States. This lesson the holy Scripture doth likewise teach vs, whose mysteries are so high and so deepe, that euen in that which it silenceth, it speaketh vnto vs; and in saying little, instructeth much. I haue much obserued that which is recounted in the History of *Esther*, touching the priuacie of that proud and vnfortunate *Haman*, whom King *Assuerus* raised from so low a degree, and from so wicked a race, as he came of. For (according to *Iosephus*) he descended from that Amalakite whom the Prophet *Samuel* caused to be hewen in peeces. And for that it is the condition of Kings, when they once begin to fauour a man, to make him like froath to rise and swell, this fauourite grew to that heighth through his Kings grace and fauour,

Ioseph. de Antiq. lib. 1. cap. 6.
1. Reg. 15. 33.

fauour, that all the Subiects of that Monarch respected him as a God, and kneeled downe in his presence, his person being much more adored, serued, and feared, then the Kings; because the King had put the staffe (as they say) into his hands, giuing him the absolute command ouer all his estates; insomuch that neither in, nor out of Court, nor elsewhere, was there ought done, but by the order of *Haman*; and the King himselfe held him in the place of a father. And for that Vanitie is the daughter of Pride, all this his great fauour and priuacie with his Prince, did but make the more for his owne hurt, as doth the Ants wings, for hers; or like those of *Icarus*, which being of waxe, the nearer they came to the Sunne, the sooner they melted, working then his death and downfall, when he was at the highest. For *Haman* came to hang, and dye on that gallowes which he had prouided for *Mardoche*, and for no other offence in the world, but because he would not bowe the knee vnto him, and adore him as the rest did. So that (if you marke the Storie) *Hamans* owne greatnesse and power was the axe, which did frame and hew out that gallowes, whereon himselfe was hanged. And hauing often thought with my selfe on this mans end, and considering likewise the beginning of this his priuacie, I doe not finde, that it was for the excellencie of his merits, or for any heroicall vertues that were in him, such as were those which King *Pharaoh*, *Nabuchadnezzar*, and *Darius* did consider in those their Fauourites, which they made choice of, but for some particular guste and liking, that his King tooke to him. For the Scripture speakes not one word, nor maketh not any the least mention of the merits of this Fauourite, nor of any notable thing, that hee had done either for the good of the kingdome, or the seruice of his King; but rather without any preambles to that purpose, in the very entrance of the third Chapter we reade thus. *Rex Assuerus exaltauit Aman, filium Amadathi, qui erat de stirpe Agag, & posuit solium eius super omnes Principes quos habebat, cunctique serui Regis,*

Esther 3.1.

Regis, qui in foribus Palatij versabantur, flectebant genua, et adorabant Hamã. King *Assuerus* did promote *Haman* the sonne of *Amedatha*, the *Agagite*, and aduanced him, and set his seate aboue all the Princes that were with him. And all the Kings seruants, that were in the Kings gate, bowed, and reuerenced *Haman*. And in this so true a relation, and so fully setting forth the priuacie of this great Fauorite, without any foundation or ground of desert; the Scripture thereby hath instructed vs, how inconsiderately this King did proceed in the choice which he made. But he did correct this his errour, by opening his eyes, and inflicting that punishment vpon him which he deserued, and is there set downe. I could wish that Fauourites would likewise open their eyes, and consider with themselues, that the happines which they hold, is but borrowed ware, lent vnto them but for a short time, and that they neither vse, nor possesse it as their owne proper good or inheritance. And being that by one meanes or other, it must leaue them, that they would not wholly giue themselues ouer thereunto; for it forsaketh few without their finall ruine. Let them bite vpon this bit, and with the remembrance thereof, bridle their pride and insolencie, lest (howsoeuer they flatter themselues) that hand may pull them downe, which raised them vp. For there are some, which will neuer be able to indure this their felicitie and happinesse, but one way or other, will worke their ouerthrow, and make them pay the price of their ambition at too deare a rate: Nay the King himselfe will sometimes put to his helping hand, as we see King *Assuerus* did, who after that hee had made *Haman* his onely Fauourite, and raised him to that highth of honour, as could not well bee more, turned his face from him, and did so much distaste him, for his sower and insolent behauiour, that for to make him stoope and hang the head, he commanded him to be hanged vpon the same gallowes that he had set vp for another, who had deserued well both of the King and State. The Emperour *Alexander* did

fauour, that all the Subiects of that Monarch respected him as a God, and kneeled downe in his presence, his person being much more adored, serued, and feared, then the Kings; because the King had put the staffe (as they say) into his hands, giuing him the absolute command ouer all his estates; insomuch that neither in, nor out of Court, nor elsewhere, was there ought done, but by the order of *Haman*; and the King himselfe held him in the place of a father. And for that Vanitie is the daughter of Pride, all this his great fauour and priuacie with his Prince, did but make the more for his owne hurt, as doth the Ants wings for hers; or like those of *Icarus*, which being of waxe, the nearer they came to the Sunne, the sooner they melted, working then his death and downfall, when he was at the highest. For *Haman* came to hang, and dye on that gallowes which he had prouided for *Mardoche*, and for no other offence in the world, but because he would not bowe the knee vnto him, and adore him as the rest did. So that (if you marke the Storie) *Hamans* owne greatnesse and power was the axe, which did frame and hew out that gallowes, whereon himselfe was hanged. And hauing often thought with my selfe on this mans end, and considering likewise the beginning of this his priuacie, I doe not finde, that it was for the excellencie of his merits, or for any heroicall vertues that were in him, such as were those which King *Pharaoh*, *Nabuchadnezzar*, and *Darius* did consider in those their Fauourites, which they made choice of, but for some particular guste and liking, that his King tooke to him. For the Scripture speakes not one word, nor maketh not any the least mention of the merits of this Fauourite, nor of any notable thing, that hee had done either for the good of the kingdome, or the seruice of his King; but rather without any preambles to that purpose, in the very entrance of the third Chapter we reade thus. *Rex Assuerus exaltauit Aman, filium Amadathi, qui erat de stirpe Agag, & posuit solium eius super omnes Principes quos habebat, cunctique serui Regis,*

Esther 3.1.

Regis, qui in foribus Palatij versabantur, flectebant genua, et adorabant Aman: King *Assuerus* did promote *Haman* the sonne of *Amedatha*, the *Agagite*, and aduanced him, and set his seate aboue all the Princes that were with him. And all the Kings seruants, that were in the Kings gate, bowed, and reuerenced *Haman*. And in this so true a relation, and so fully setting forth the priuacie of this great Fauorite, without any foundation or ground of deserte; the Scripture thereby hath instructed vs, how inconsiderately this King did proceed in the choice which he made. But he did correct this his errour, by opening his eyes, and inflicting that punishment vpon him which he deserued, and is there set downe. I could wish that Fauourites would likewise open their eyes, and consider with themselues, that the happines which they hold, is but borrowed ware, lent vnto them but for a short time, and that they neither vse, nor possesse it as their owne proper good or inheritance. And being that by one meanes or other, it must leaue them, that they would not wholly giue themselues ouer thereunto; for it forsaketh few without their finall ruine. Let them bite vpon this bit, and with the remembrance thereof, bridle their pride and insolencie, lest (howsoeuer they flatter themselues) that hand may pull them downe, which raised them vp. For there are some, which will neuer be able to indure this their felicitie and happinesse, but one way or other, will worke their ouerthrow, and make them pay the price of their ambition at too deare a rate: Nay the King himselfe will sometimes put to his helping hand, as we see King *Assuerus* did, who after that hee had made *Haman* his onely Fauourite, and raised him to that highth of honour, as could not well bee more, turned his face from him, and did so much distaste him, for his sower and insolent behauiour, that for to make him stoope and hang the head, he commanded him to be hanged vpon the same gallowes that he had set vp for another, who had deserued well both of the King and State. The Emperour *Alexander* did

the like, who waxing wearie of the arrogancie of one of his Fauourites, and not being able longer to endure it, cauſed him to be ſtaked, and the ſtake to be ſet on the top of an high hill; giuing him a death anſwerable to his vanitie. For, although Kings loue them, and in ſome ſort acknowledge a kinde of beholdingneſſe, yet they vſually withdraw their fauour quite from them, and are oftentimes aſhamed of their choice; whereunto being added the complaints of the people, and other principall perſons, offended with the injuries offered vnto them, remoue that ſcandall, by removing their Fauorite, and make them ſatisfaction by making him be puniſhed, neuer in this caſe aduiſing with any, nor ſo much as hearing what the Fauourite in his owne diſcharge can ſay for himſelfe; for in ſuch deſperate caſes, when things are brought to that extremitie, Kings vſe to take that courſe as your *Praxmedici*, and skilfuller ſort of Phyſitians doe with their inferiours; who in weightie and vrgent occaſions fall ſpeedily to worke themſelues, without any further conſultation; but in ordinarie diſeaſes, heare, reſolue, and conſult with others. Againe, let Fauourites, for their learning, reade the Hiſtories, and peruſe the generall booke of Time, and they ſhall there finde a thouſand of theſe examples, and other as many faire warnings, worthy their ſight and knowledge, for the admoniſhing of men, for to feare their priuacie with Kings, and to tremble at humane proſperitie, and the ſecuritie wherein they liue. And hee that ſhall diligently reade theſe things, will ſeeke to come fairely off from theſe his high fortunes and fauours. For ordinarily, from a proſperous and high-raiſed eſtate, great diſaſters haue had their beginning; as from your higheſt places come your greateſt falls. And peraduenture becauſe this *deſengamno*, and diſ-deceiuing of our ſelues, doth ſo much import mankinde, and that men might liue in this feare, God hath and doth permit of ſuch like examples, and admonitions. And it may likewiſe be beleeued, that ſuch violent and ſudden accidents haue not onely

happened

happened through the default of those that fall, or for want of wisedome, but by a diuine prouidence and permission, for their owne particular sinnes; or for that God was willing, as being the master workeman, and onely Potter of these our earthen vessells, to breake these with a rodde of iron, and to choose others for vessells of honour, through which the holy liquor of his Gospell, and other good graces, might be poured forth, and diffused throughout the world.

CHAP. XXXIII.

Whether it be fit for Kings to haue any more then one Fauourite.

THe name wherewith the Greekes named God, is deriued from a word, which signifies to see. So that to say God, is to say, Hee that sees. For, as the Apostle Saint *Paul*, and faith teacheth vs; all is subiect to Gods view; and vnto Kings, who are his Lieutenants here vpon earth, nothing can conuene so well with them, as to seeme to the world, to haue so quicke and large a sight, that they may see all whatsoeuer mans capacitie is able to reach vnto. And because they cannot doe this alone by themselues, *Xenophon* said very well and wisely, that it was needfull, that they should haue other eyes, whereunto to trust as much, as vnto their owne, and to see as it were by spectacles, for Kings are so vnhappy, that they cannot come to see all without them. And those (as the same Philosopher said) are those friends and Fauourites, who are to see, and know that which passeth in the world, as also what is needfull in common-wealths, and to giue notice thereof vnto their Kings, and to helpe them to ordaine, and execute that, which is fitting and

conuenient. And Fauourites being intertained (as we ſaid before) for this end, and for the publike good of the common-wealth, it is requiſite that Kings ſhould not haue one onely, but many. One day, ſome about the perſon of *Alexander* the Great, ſhewed him a marueilous faire Pomegranate, which being cut in two, diſcouered a great company of kernels: and one of them asking him, of what he would wiſh to haue ſuch ſtore, as of thoſe Pomegranate kernels which appeared vnto him? He anſwered, that he would wiſh that hee might haue ſo many *Zopiri*; This *Zopirus* being a Fauourite of his, and one that was very faithfull vnto him, and of great abilities. For, it is not contrary to royall greatneſſe, to haue many, but very neceſſary for the better diſpatch of buſineſſes. For if they ſhould paſſe onely through the hands of the Prince, their diſpatch would bee very ſlow, and ſubiect likewiſe to many errours, whereinto they would ordinarily runne, for want of their care and aſſiſtance. *Darius*, King of Perſia, tooke three Fauourites vnto him, to whom the reſt of the Princes rendered an account of all the affaires of the kingdome. And from the beginning of the world, euen to this preſent time, Kings haue had, ſome more, and others leſſe. For this muſt be regulated and ordered according to the greatneſſe of the kingdomes. For by how much the more they are in number and greatneſſe, ſo much the more increaſe haue thoſe weighty affaires which are neceſſarily to haue their recourſe to their royall perſons; and according to the meaſure of them, is there an addition to be made of thoſe, that are to aſſiſt and attend buſineſſes, to paſſe through all, to prouide for all, and in all places. The people of Iſrael, when *Moſes* gouerned them, were all ioyntly together in one body in forme of an Armie; and all that made not vp ſo much as a meane kingdome, and they remaining (as then they did) without poſſeſſions, incamped in a deſart, and being all Iſraelites, it ſeemeth in all likelihood, that their ordinary buſineſſes could not be either ſo many, or ſo great, as thoſe which are incident

to

to a King, who is Lord and Master of diuers kingdomes and Prouinces, and of sundry seuerall Nations. And yet notwithstanding, that great Gouernour *Moses*, by negotiating from morning vntill night, without diuerting himselfe, could not giue conuenient dispatch vnto all, but was forced (as is before specified) to take vnto him no lesse then seuenty assistants, all chosen men, and endewed with those good qualities, whereof we now treate. Let Kings therefore haue many for to aide and helpe them, and let them be the Ministers of his minde, and the Conducts whereby to conuay his will and pleasure to his Subiects. For in the administration of publike affaires, it is euermore to bee indeauoured, that many beare a part therein; As well for the common satisfaction, that shall thereby be giuen vnto all; as also for that they may be able to make the better account of all businesses, bee they neuer so many. And likewise, for that few being instructed and experienced in them, occasion may not bee giuen, that (those failing) the commonwealth and publike gouernment may thereby incurre any danger. This was *Augustus* his conceit, deliuered by *Suetonius*; which that he might the better execute, and that his bounty might inlarge it selfe towards the more persons; he inuented new publike Offices, wherein to imploy them. But I do not speake this, as inferring thereby, that there should bee so many, but that at least (for the foresaid reasons) there should bee some: And in conclusion, more then one, because it will bee more easie to negotiate with them, and lesse costly and troublesome; and bee a meanes, that the Prince may be the better eased, and freed in great part of those cares and troubles, which otherwise must needs weary him out, and worke his vnrest and disquiet. For his body is not made of brasse, nor can he occurre to all occasions; Besides, being more then one, their competition will make them the more both carefull and fearefull; as knowing that in case they shall grow careless, there are persons enough besides of sufficiencie to supply their place; Whereas

the opinion and conceit of the contrary, puffes him vp with pride, and vndoes it's Master. For they fondly and fooliſhly perſwade themſelues, that their King and Maſter cannot liue and ſubſiſt without the aſſiſtance of their wit, and that there is not that fault they commit, but muſt be forgiuen them, out of the neceſſitie of their ſeruice. Forgetting in the meane while, that their King may imagine them to bee dead, and how that in ſuch a caſe, though it grieue him, yet muſt hee prouide himſelfe of others. Let Kings therefore bee beaten from this their errour, for he that ſhall otherwiſe aduiſe them, and ſeeke to be the onely man in their fauour and ſeruice, and take vnto himſelfe both the right ſide and the left, thruſting all others from thence, and gouerning both high and low, letting nothing eſcape his fingers, which hee pretendeth out of the neceſſary vſe of his perſon, and ſo abſolutely to become Maſter of their wills, and to haue that hand ouer their Kings, that they muſt not looke vpon any, but with their Fauorites eyes; ſuch a Fauourite (I ſay) pretends to tyrannize a kingdome, and by little and little will go cruſhing the Princes of the bloud, the ancient Nobilitie, and ſuch as are of power to ſtand in their way, thruſting this man out of Court to day, and that other to morrow, that hee alone may rule all without any contradiction or oppoſition in the world. Let euery man ſay or thinke as they liſt, for mine owne part I am perſwaded that this is his maine end and drift; And the cauſe thereof is his feare of falling; knowing (beſides his owne conſciouſnes) that there are not onely one or two, but many in Court, that are able to ſupply his place, and farre better deſeruing then himſelfe. Your Alchymiſts make gold: But how? Onely in the colour; they will not let it come to the Touch, nor any other reall Eſſay; neither will they endure to haue it compared with any other minerall gold, for feare leſt it ſhould bee diſcouered, that theirs hath no more but a bare ſhew and apparence. Let Princes therefore aſſure themſelues, that thoſe Fauourites are but Alchimiſts, that will not admit

of

of any other companie, as being priuie to themſelues, that their vnderſtanding is not ſuch pure gold, that it can abide the Touch, nor any reall Eſſay. But ſay it ſhould paſſe for currant, and that their mindes were all made of pure gold, me thinkes they ſhould aduiſe and conſider with themſelues, that thoſe that are ingenious and wiſe men, will therefore the rather deſire that there ſhould be many: for, by comparing the one with the other, the true light ſhineth the more, and makes it ſelfe knowne whether it be ſo or no. And onely your fooles, and ſuch as are vnworthy of that they poſſeſſe, are iealous of that good, which they feare to looſe, when by comparing they ſhall come to be knowne. God did not in vaine place ſo many members in mans bodie, and moſt of them double; had it not beene thereby to teach vs, that many are needfull in humane actions: and that one is not able to doe all, without an infinite deale of toyle, extraordinary ſpending of his ſpirits, and the ſudden waſting and conſuming of his body. And here will ſuite very well to this our purpoſe, that which *Tiberius* affirmed, when feigning not to bee willing to accept of the Empire, hee ſaid, (going about the buſh to diſcouer the mindes of the Romane Nobilitie, and Senate) that he alone of himſelfe, was not ſufficient, nor yet with the helpe of another, for ſo great a gouernment. Whereupon, *Saluſtius Criſpus* taking his Qu, a great Fauourite of his, ſtarts mee vp, and makes me a long *Harenga*, or artificiall oration; ſhewing that Signiorie and Empire could not well conſiſt, without being conferred vpon one particular perſon (which is the maine foundation and ground-worke of the good and ſafetie of a Monarchicall gouernment) and that therein himſelfe (if no body elſe would take the paines) would bee as it were another *Ioſeph*, his faithfull Vice-gerent: leſt the reſolution of things, depending on the will of many, it might cauſe a diſtraction in buſineſſes, either by way of competition or of paſſion. In concluſion, after *Tiberius* had heard this, and had throughly ſounded their mindes, he tooke occaſion

caſion to tell them, That in ſuch a Citie as Rome was, ſuſtained and vpheld by ſo many and ſuch illuſtrious perſons, it was not fit that the buſineſſes of State ſhould be remitted to one man alone, for many would much more eaſily execute the offices and affaires of the commonwealth by a fellow-bearing of the burthen. For, as vnitie in ſome degrees is both profitable and pleaſing; ſo in other ſome it is hatefull, and preiudiciall. And therefore, (out of this conſideration) I ſay, That a King, as the ſupreme perſon, and principall Head of a kingdome, ought to be one alone. For the couetouſneſſe of ruling being inſatiable, and the nature of power incommunicable, it is not poſſible that two Princes of equall authoritie ſhould continue any long time, but both of them ſuffer in the end, or at leaſt the buſineſſes that are committed to their charge. But for Fauourites, there may bee two, or three, or more, the vnitie remaining reſerued for the greater and ſupremer perſon. And likewiſe this pluralitie will not be much amiſſe; for if any one of them ſhall by ſome accident faile, there be others, whom the King knoweth, and they know him, that are fit for his ſeruice, and that haue good experience and knowledge of buſineſſes, and all ſuch matters as are current and paſſable in the commonwealth, without being driuen to ſeeke out new Miniſters, or to inſtruct them what to doe in a time of neceſſitie, when things go not well, but ſtand in ill Tearmes, laying otherwiſe hold on the firſt that offer themſelues vnto them, to the ouerthrowing of the buſineſſes in hand, and the proper hurt and dammage of their Lord and Maſter; at whoſe coſt and by meere erring in great matters, they muſt come to get their learning. Let Kings (a Gods name) reſerue for themſelues thoſe buſineſſes that are of greateſt importance (for in this likewiſe muſt there bee a ſetled courſe and order) as is in all well gouerned kingdomes. Referring (as we ſaid before) to the ordinary Councells and Tribunalls, ordinary buſineſſes, conſulting with their Kings thoſe that are of moſt importance; And theſe Kings by them-

themselues (as before mentioned) ought to dispatch, if therein they be not hindered by default of their health, and not to remit and referre them to their Fauourites; who, in matter of Iustice (were it but distributiue) should haue no kinde of power. For thereby they oppresse those Tribunalls and seates of iustice, together with their Ministers and Officers, who, for that they know, they must haue much dependancy on the Fauourite; if he shall haue a hand in Courts of Iustice, and distribution of Offices, cannot but remaine much oppressed, and debarred of their libertie, and the more, if they haue any pretension for their owne interest, or increasing of their estate and honour. And the reason of all this will plainly appeare, if wee will but weigh those words of the wise man; *Per me Reges regnant, & Legum conditores iusta decernunt*: Through me Kings raigne, Through mee Councellours make iust Lawes. Whereby is giuen to vnderstand, the particular fauour which God giues to the lawfull Kings and Gouernours of their kingdomes and commonwealths, to hit right in that which appertaineth vnto gouernment. And therefore was it well said of that wise King *Salomon*; *Diuinatio in labijs Regis, in iudicio, non errabit os eius*: Prophecie is in the lippes of the King; his mouth shall not go wrong in iudgement. And your Diuines are of opinion, that Kings haue more helpe and aide from their Angels of guard, then other men haue. And besides all this, the publike prayers that are powred forth throughout all their kingdomes and Prouinces, are of most great vse for Gods illightning of their vnderstanding. And therefore for these reasons aforesaid, although your Fauourites and more secret Councellours of State may be very learned and wise vnderstanding men, yet is there a great deale of reason, why in graue and weightie causes, they should crane and attend their Kings opinion; esteeming it as the more certaine, being it comes from a head, so much fauoured by God, and so well assisted and strengthened on all sides. Which doth not concurre in Fauourites; Prou. 8. 15. Prou. 16. 10.

for

for God hath not made that promise vnto them, as he hath vnto Kings; nor (peraduenture) doe they deserue it. And if he bee the sole and only Fauourite, much lesse can hee presume, that either his opinion or paines can be greater or surer then that of so many learned Councellours and Councells, that haue met and sate thereupon, and haue spent so much time and study in State affaires. Nor is it to bee imagined, that when Councellours doe consult, and craue their Kings opinion and resolution, that they doe it to that end, that they should receiue it from another inferiour person; whom let Kings loue them neuer so much, or conferre all that they can vpon them, they cannot giue them more vnderstanding, or more knowledge, nor a better minde and disposition, then what they haue already; for this is reserued for God onely, as also it properly belongeth vnto him to giue light vnto Kings, that they may giue a fitting and direct answer to that point wherein they are consulted; who alwayes supplyes them with that knowledge which is needfull for them, if they shall but begge it at his hands, and make good vse thereof. Hence are two things inferred, which are very sure and true. The first, That Kings are bound in conscience to attend in their owne person graue and weightie businesses; for that this is their principall office; which is euidently proued by this reason. Whosoeuer beares an Office, and hath salarie for the same, is thereby obliged to cumply fully therewith, *Sub pœna peccati*, vpon penaltie of sinning. And by so much the more grieuous shall the sinne be, by how much the greater is the Office, and by how much the more the stipend is augmented. Now Kings (you will confesse vnto me) haue the greater office, and greater stipend in all things, and therefore shall they more grieuously sinne, if they do not cumply therewith. And this is made good in the sixth of Wisedome, where in these very words it is expresly said: *Potentes potenter tormenta patientur; & fortioribus fortior instat cruciatio*: A sharpe punishment shall be to them that be in high places; Wisd. 6. 5, 6.

and

and the mighty ſhall bee mightily tormented. The ſecond, That Fauourites are obliged, on paine of the ſaid penaltie, to ſerue their Kings in their owne perſons well and faithfully in thoſe buſineſſes, which they ſhall commit to their charge; and that in taking their pleaſure and eaſe, more then their Kings themſelues, and ſubſtituting others to performe that truſt and charge which is put vpon them, they cannot iuſtly enioy that authoritie, nor thoſe intereſts and profits which doe reſult from their priuacie. And let they themſelues tell me, what title they haue to enioy ſo much as they doe, when they take leſſe paines then their Kings, but pleaſure more? And to conclude with that which is here queſtioned in this Chapter, I ſay, That admitting Fauourites, to bee ſuch as they ought to be, it is fit notwithſtanding that there ſhould be more then one, or two. For thereby Kings ſhall haue the more helpe, and out of that emulation and zeale, which is wont to bee amongſt them, each of them will ſtriue to bee more conſiderate and better aduiſed in commanding others, and in begging and applying things to himſelfe, and his owne priuate profit, and more ſolicitous in doing ſeruice to the State, leſt others might get the ſtart of him in his Kings fauour. And howbeit the name of fauourite ſeemeth not to indure a companion, yet, if they fixe their eyes on that which they ought, which is the common good of the common-wealth, and the ſeruice of their Kings, it would neuer grieue them, that there ſhould bee others to aſſiſt for the ſame end and purpoſe; but like that great Fauourite and friend of God, *Moſes*, they would ſay, *Vtinam omnes prophetarent*: Would to God they did all prophecie.

CHAP.

CHAP. XXXIIII.

Of the Conditions and Qualities of Fauourites.

SVppoſing that that then which hath beene ſaid in the former Chapters, and that Kings are to haue ſuch perſons about them, who with proprietie may hold the name of friends (for ſuch qualitie and condition muſt they be of, who poſſeſſe the boſome and ſoule of their Maſter by the communication of the greateſt and moſt ſecret affaires) and performe the office of Fauourites; For, although it be true, that it cannot properly be ſaid, that Kings haue friends, for that all (ſaue of their owne ranke) are inferiour vnto them; yet is it likewiſe true, that the holy Scripture (as we ſhewed you before) ſtiles Fauourites, friends. For the force of loue is of that great power, that it remoueth and lifteth vp things from their point and center, giuing the name of friend to a ſeruant and ſubiect. *Qui diligit cordis munditiam, propter gratiam labiorum ſuorum, habebit amicum Regem:* He that loueth pureneſſe of heart, for the grace of his lippes, the King ſhall bee his friend. *Ariſtotle* doth admit betwixt the King and his ſubiect, a certaine kinde of friendſhip, howbeit the diſparitie and inequalitie bee very great, your Hiſtories doe celebrate the friendſhips of great Princes, held with their particular ſubiects. And thoſe which with other their equalls are called faithfull friends; with Kings, carry the name of Loyall-Subiects. Which (for that effect which wee pretend) importeth little this altering or changing of the name. That which moſt importeth and concueneth moſt, is, That we giue you ſome notice of thoſe qualities

Prou. 22. 11.

lities which they ought to haue, and of those signes, whereby those may be knowne, that are fittest and likeliest for so great a Ministery.

There are two qualities amongst the rest, which are precisely necessarie in a Fauourite. And first I will set downe the first. First of all then he must loue his King truly, and must not suffer himselfe to be ouercome by priuate selfe-loue, and his owne priuate interest. In the first particular, all doe agree with *Aristotle* and *Plato*. For no man can more faithfully giue counsell, then hee that loues his King more then his gifts. Which of all other is the most necessary to make one man truth another, and to beleeue that which hee saith. For who will not credit that man whom he knowes loues him, and in all that he can, seekes to procure his good, without any respect to his owne particular interest? He (saith Saint *Gregory*) that is fit to be a Fauourite, must haue a loue that is full, and disinteressed. *Nullus fidelior tibi ad consulendum esse potest, quam qui non tua, sed te diligit.* No man can be more faithfull in aduising thee, then he that loues not thine, but thee. *Gregor. 1x regist. li. 1 Epist. ep. 33.*

This qualitie of Loue and friendship, *Nazianzene* likewise handleth. And a certaine Law of the *Partida* maketh mention thereof, saying, *Que los que han de aconseiar los Reyes, han de ser amigos bien entendidos, y de buen seso.* That those, that are to counsell Kings, must bee friends that haue beene throughly knowne and tried, and that are of good vnderstanding and iudgement. *Salomon* saith, That hee is a true Fauourite indeed, that studies to walke in cleannesse of heart, and pureness of tongue; that is to say, when hee shall place all his care in seruing his King with Loue; and informing him nothing but what is truth, and desiring him to walke in that way, which shall make most for Gods seruice, and the good of the kingdome. Qualities sufficient for Fauourites to insinuate themselues into the grace and fauour of good Princes. Saint *Iohn*, in the Apocalypse, sets before vs (though somewhat darkly shadowed) a picture of good Fauourites *Part. 2. Tit. 9. L. 5.*

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and Counsellors. Which were certaine old men, clothed in white, wearing Crownes on their heads. To bee somewhat ancient, and well stricken in yeares, was a qualitie wont to be required in those that were to aduise Kings, and giue them good counsell, in regard of their great experience and mature iudgement, which commonly accompanies such kinde of men. And they are said to be clothed in white, because this colour signifies a pure heart, and a cleare conscience, wherewith they ought to bee as it were appaielled and adorned. How can he giue good counsell that is not clothed in white? That hath not *Cor candidum*, a white and vpright heart, pure and cleane from those affections and passions that may smut and filthy it? And it is thus likewise set downe, that euery one of them had like a King, a Crowne vpon his head. To giue vs thereby to vnderstand, that hee that is to giue counsell vnto Kings, for the maintaining and vpholding of a kingdome, and to remedy what is therein amisse, may in some sort conceit himselfe to be a King; my meaning is, that he is to giue counsell, as if hee himselfe were the King, and to aduise for him, as he would for himselfe, were he in his place. And that hee is to giue his vote and opinion, as if the kingdome were his. And to be so free from expecting or respecting his owne particular interest, as if he were King himselfe. Who neither expecteth nor pretendeth any merced, or reward, nor any addition of honour, or otherwise in his kingdome, for that hee hath already attained to the highest and supremest dignitie, which is the Crowne. In like manner, Kings Fauourites, and Counsellours should liue as free from pretensions, as if (hauing already got the Crowne) they had nothing more to pretend. Whose breast and bosome must be as white and as pure as whitenesse it selfe. And will be the better able to iudge betwixt white and blacke, right and wrong, by reason of their many yeares, and long experience.

This kinde of seruants and friends, which must be the life and

and ſoule of their actions; let Kings bee very carefull how they make choice of them, and receiue them into fauour. For there is not any one thing, that doth ſo much manifeſt a Kings minde, as the election which he makes of his Fauourites and Councellours of State. For by them is his naturall inclination as well knowne, as in a workeman, by his manufactures, is diſcouered the Art and Trade whereunto hee is moſt inclined. And therefore I ſhall make bold to aduiſe Kings, that they make ſuch their Fauourites, that are men of worth, wiſe, prudent, diſintereſted, and of a noble and generous diſpoſition. For by their choice men make iudgement of their King accordingly. And likewiſe when the Kings grace and fauour ſhall fall vpon good Subiects, his owne glory will be the greater. Let Kings (laying aſide all affection) chooſe ſuch as are men of knowledge and experience, and that are powerfull in perſwading, and diſſwading. That know how to go in and out, with good ſatisfaction, amidſt thoſe ſo many, ſo diuers, and ſuch important buſineſſes, as daily offer themſelues; and to giue good, ſubtill, and graue anſwers, both by word of mouth, and by writing, to ſuch Ambaſſadours, and other great perſons, that ſhall come to treate and negociate with them. That haue ſeene and read much, and haue a generall knowledge in all things, but more particularly in the countries and Prouinces that are vnder their Kings command. That know what forces they are able to make, and to vnderſtand the ſtrength as well of their friends, as of their foes. Let them be of a franke and liberall minde. For this vertue the common people much loue and affect, and are wonderfully well ſatisfied therewith. And on the contrary, couetouſneſſe is much hated and abhorred by them. Let them (I ſay) bee bountifull, and deſirous to doe good to all in common, and to euery one in particular. In a word, let them be men well knowne to be faithfull and truſty, and ſuch as loue their Kings ſo well, as that they will preferre their authoritie and reputation before their owne, and ſtudie

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and endeuour in all, and aboue all, what may make most for their good and aduantage. That they be wise, discreet, experienced, patient, without passion, disinterested, and more zealous of the publike good, then of their priuate profit. For if they shall regard their owne interest and proper commodities, they are neither good for the seruice of their Kings, nor for the gouernment of the common wealth. For, in going about to measure out their priuate by the yard of their particular profit, they will make merchandise of all, and their doing good to others, shall bee for the benefiting of themselues. Nothing comming vnder their hands, whereof (that they may not be accounted bad Cookes) they will not licke their owne fingers. The stingent and strongest affection, is that of couetousnesse, it is like the head-ach, which hindereth the free vse of mans faculties and senses, not suffering him to doe any thing that is good. And though it bee true, that there are other vices, of greater offence to God, and more hurtfull to a mans neighbour, yet this hath I know not what mischiefe in it, and more particularly in publike persons, which doth shew it selfe more openly then all the rest, and doth breede, and nourish other sinnes, as the roote doth the tree. *Radix omnium malorum cupiditas; Quidam* 1. Tim. 6. *appetentes, erraverunt à fide*: Couetousnesse of money, is the roote of all euill. Which while some lusted after, they erred from the faith, and tangled themselues with many sorrowes. *Ex auaritia profecto* (saith Saint *Ambrose*) *septem nequitiæ procreantur: scilicet, Proditio, fraus, fallacia, periurium, inquietudo, violentia, & contra misericordiam, obduratio*: There are seuen kinde of sinnes that proceed from couetousnesse. *viz.* Treason, Fraud, deceit, Periury, Inquietude, Violence, and (which shuts the doore to all pitie and compassion) Hardnesse of heart. Vpon this foundation of couetousnesse, is built whatsoeuer tyrannicall imagination; and many through it, haue, and doe daily loose the faith, and that loyaltie which is due vnto God, and their Kings. *Auri cupi-* *Ambr. in Apolog. cap. 4.*

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ditas (saith the same Saint) *materia est perfidiæ*; The loue of gold is the cause of the losse of faith. When this pulls a Fauourite, it easily drawes him aside, and carries him headlong to all these vices; for it is of more force then the Load-stone, and drawes him more after them, then that doth the iron; And is holpen on the more by the winde of vanitie and ambition. The Philosopher *Heraclitus* saith, That those that serue Vanity and Couetousnesse, suddenly depart from Truth and Iustice, and hold that onely for iust and most right, which is directed aright to their owne priuate interest. And this onely doe they make their aime, in all whatsoeuer they aduise their King; as was to be seene in that so often repeated case of King *Assuerus*, with his great Fauourite *Aman*, of whom hee demanded, what grace and fauour should bee showne to that Subiect, whom for his good seruices, hee desired to honour. Whereupon, the winde of vaine-glory working in the head of him, and thinking this could be no man, but himselfe, shewed himselfe very magnificent and liberall in ordaining the honours and fauours, that were to be done vnto him. The vaine conceit of a couetous man, cuts out for himselfe large thongs out of another mans leather. And when hee growes a little warme in the King his Masters bosome (poore snake as hee was) with a false and feigned loue, hee goes hunting after his commoditie; and this failing, his loue also faileth. For his heart stretcheth it selfe no farther to loue, then what his hands can come to take hold on. *Elpan comido, y la compania desecha* (saith the Prouerbe) No longer Cake, no longer company. Of such friends, as these, the Prophet *Michah* bids vs beware. For no friend, that seeketh his owne gaine, can euer (according vnto *Aristotle*) be faithfull and loyall to his King. Let Kings (I say) consider once againe, and haue an especiall care, that those Fauourites, whom hee maketh choice of for his friends, be out of his owne proper election, and approued by his owne minde, and by the opinion and fame of their vertue, and not intertaining them at

Micah 7. 6.
Arist. lib. 8. Ethic. cap. 4.

any time by the sole interceſſion of others, eſpecially ſuch as are great and powerfull, nor let them ſuffer themſelues to be carried away with the ſecret conſiderations of thoſe familiar and particular perſons which are about them, nor by the inſinuating and ſoothing perſwaſions of your flatterers and Sycophants; Who, as they are men, worke vpon diſcourſe, and corporall meanes, altogether framing them in order to their owne ends; Let them not giue beliefe and credit vnto them, but to the common fame and good report that goes of them; and thereon, let them place their eares and their vnderſtanding. For (as *Tacitus* ſaith) that is it which vſually makes the beſt choice. For it is not to bee doubted, but that concerning ſuch a ones vertues or goodneſſe, we ought rather to giue credit to the generall report, then to the voices of one or two. For one, may eaſily bee deceiued, and deceiue others by his tricks, and his particular intereſt; but neuer yet could one deceiue all; nor is it poſſible, that all ſhould in that their approbation, deceiue another. As for thoſe other ſeruants, which are to attend and waight vpon the Kings perſon, more for dignitie of place, and for outward apparence and oſtentation of greatneſſe, then for vſe and conueniencie, which likewiſe in their kinde are very neceſſarie; let Kings a Gods name receiue them into their ſeruice, either vpon the interceſſion of others, or out of other particular reſpects. For in this, there is little hazard, and may eaſily chop and change them, if they proue not good and fit for their turne. But in the choice of the former a great deale of care muſt be taken, for the chopping and changing of them is very dangerous, and vnleſſe there be very great cauſe for the doing of it, it breeds an opinion of inconſtancie; which as it cannot but be hurtfull vnto all, ſo is it of great diſhonour vnto Kings, much weakening their authoritie. But ſay there be iuſt cauſe of remouing them, why it is but as a Vomite; which howbeit it be true, that it remoueth the malignant humour, and expells it from the ſtomacke, yet withall it carries

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the good likewiſe away with it, and makes an end of that Subiect it works vpon, if it be too often vſed. For our horſes wee ſeeke bits and bridles, wherewith to make them to go well and handſomely, and if with thoſe they do not raigne, and carry themſelues according to our mind, we take others; and when we finde once that they are fitted as wee would haue them, we neuer chop nor change, but ſtill vſe the ſame. In like manner, it is not good to chop and change either Fauourites, or priuie Councellours too often, but to ſeeke out ſuch as are fit for their turne, and to carry ſuch a hand ouer them, as to bridle their inſolencie, and to reyne them in hard, if they finde them head-ſtrong. For being that they are thoſe horſes which guide the chariot of a Monarchie, if they bee not well bridled, of a gentle and tender mouth, and an eaſie reyne, they will play the iades, and breake both their owne neckes and their Maſters. In a word, euery King hath, or at leaſt repreſenteth two perſons, one publike, the other priuate. And therefore his actions ought likewiſe to be of two qualities. In thoſe that are particular, let them proceed therein as they will themſelues, according to their owne guſte and pleaſure; but in thoſe that are publike, as ſhall make moſt for the publike good. Hauing ſtill an eye to it's conſeruation and augmentation, and to the common approbation of the people. And thoſe qualities, which formerly wee required in Councellers of State, wee here likewiſe conclude, that all of them are neceſſary for Fauourites. And if Kings peraduenture (in regard of humane imperfection) cannot meete with men ſo perfect, let them bee as abſolute, as they can poſſibly light vpon; at leaſt, let them haue theſe two qualities, of loue, and an vnſpotted life; And let not Kings content themſelues that they haue them in a mediocritie, but in all perfection. For without theſe two, there are not any *Statuæ* ſo vnprofitable, as are ſuch men, being not good enough to be ſlaues, or to ſerue in the baſeſt and vileſt offices about a houſe, much more vnworthy to be Fauourites, and priuie Councellours.

And becauſe the heart of man, which God hath hid out of ſight, to the end that he might reſerue it to bee the ſeate and manſion of his loue, is hard to bee knowne, and the thoughts thereof very ſecret and hid; for that by one and the ſame inſtruments, it worketh and expreſſeth it's conceits, be they falſe, or be they true, it is neceſſary that by ſome meanes the truth or deceit of it's words may be knowne, for to difference thereby the true loue from the falſe. Amongſt other ſignes and coniectures whereof Kings may make vſe, for to know the minde of thoſe that are to hold ſo great and neare a place about their perſons, and to treate and communicate with them as it were the ſecrets of their ſoules; let them conſider and obſerue very well, in what kinde of manner they do proceed, and haue proceeded with thoſe with whom they haue formerly held friendſhip, and to whom they ſtand indebted and obliged for curteſies already done; if they ſhall ſee they carry themſelues well towards them, and performe all offices of true loue and friendſhip, then may they be induced to beleeue, that ſhewing themſelues louing and thankfull to others, they will be ſo towards them. And he that loueth not him, whom hee ought to loue, out of this or that other reſpect, will not loue his King, do he neuer ſo much for him. For this difference of more or leſſe altereth not the ſubſtance nor condition. The true loue of Fauourites (they being ſuch as they ought to be) conſiſteth (as we ſaid already) in louing their King diſ-intereſſedly, and to aduertiſe him of all that, which is fitting and conuenient for him, and that all, or the moſt deſire, that in their workes and actions for their greater perfection, there ſhould be credit and eſtimation; And laſtly, of all that which (according to the more common opinion) requireth reformation and amendment (for onely the workes of the moſt high can be wholly inculpable) And of that which may in ſome ſort withdraw his Subiects loue from him, and aduiſing him thereof, worke ſo with him for to gratifie them in this or that publike benefit, whereby to

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wedge the peoples loue the faster vnto their Prince and Soueraigne. But false and feigned loue, that runnes a contrarie course; it alwayes hunts after it's owne commoditie, it commendeth all, whatsoeuer his Prince doth; he excuseth it in his presence, and qualifies it for good, iust, and conuenient. Which being no other but a tricke of Court-cunning, and though they may well march vnder the standard of vnknowne enemies, yet are they esteemed and rewarded as friends. And notwithstanding all this, their Kings backe is no sooner turned, but they murmure at him, or set others a worke to doe it for them, Complaining, that in regard of the naturall ill disposition of Kings and great Princes eares (facile enough to heare smooth flatteries, but too harsh and hard to hearken to the truth) they dare not for their liues tell it him, nor aduenture to giue him the least distaste, though it concerne him neuer so neare, and that they plainly see, the not doing of it cannot but redound much to his hurt. And the true reason thereof is, for that the former, loue more the person of their Prince, then his fortune, and let him take it ill or well, all's one, they will treate truth, especially in those things that may concerne his safetie, or the good and quiet of his kingdome, and their good minde, true heart, and plaine-honest meaning, make them bold to speake, without fearing to offend, in that their good aduice, which they shall giue him. But this second sort of Fauourites loue not his person, but his fortune; And these, for their owne proper interest, and that they may not hazard their hopes, dare not speake the truth, though they see the danger before their eyes: as persons that would easily alter their faith and loyaltie, and take part with him whose sword is strongest, and therefore care not though their King fall, so as they may stand. And of such, it may bee suspected that they desire a change, like those which in gaming liue by *Barato*, who for their owne benefit would haue fortune turne from the one to the other, their good wishes no longer following their first man, as not

hoping to haue any more from him, then what they haue already receiued; not caring to see them blowne vp, one after another, so as they may get by the bargaine. And most certaine it is, that those who so much loue themselues, and their owne proper interest, there is no trusting of them; for they haue no loue left either for their owne Lord and Master, or any body else. For such base soules, and vngenerate spirits, drowned and swallowed vp in those muddy materialls of Interest, and Auarice, cannot loue any other thing with excellencie, and in a noble fashion. And therefore it importeth much, that Fauourites bee disroabed, and stript quite and cleane of all that, which goes vnder the name of proper or selfe-loue, private interest, vnfull friendship, faction or kindred; and that they should bee clothed with a wise and discreet kinde of goodnesse, which nor knowes, nor can, nor will fauour ought, but vertue, and Iustice, and that which is good and honest. It is likewise spoken by way of Prouerbe, *Quien ama à su Rey, ama à su grey*: He that loues his King, loues his flocke. And he that is in the place of a Fauourite, and so neare about his Kings person, ought to bee as a common father to all his Subiects, treating them as if they were his children, and procuring that not any one of them may depart discontented from his presence, which would be the the onely Load-stone to draw all their loue and affection towards him. So did that great Fauourite of the King of *Syria*, *Naaman*, whom all the people with a full and open mouth, called Father, corresponding with him in the loue of so many sonnes, or children. For those that are seated in so high a place, haue great cause, for many reasons, to procure publike loue; and, together with the grace of their Prince, to haue the good wills and affections of the people; for this, makes the other to be more durable and firme. For this is the naturall miserie of great and powerfull persons, that Enuie and Greatnesse go alwayes hand in hand: the one still accompanying the other. And there is not any poyson like vnto it,

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which moues and ſtirres vp ſuch violent pangs and paſſions in the ſtomacke, and more eſpecially if it worke vpon the priuacie and inwardneſſe of Fauourites with their Kings, as if that it ſelfe were not a true and ſufficient ſtrong poyſon. Seeing that it is held for certaine, that one word of a King, nay (which is more) one angry looke, or bended brow, hath ſent many a Fauourite to his graue. For (as *Salomon* ſaith) the life of the Subiect depends on the countenance of the King. And if we will not beleeue him, let vs ſee and obſerue how many Fauourites eſcape, which doe not dye of that wound, or the feare thereof; and more particularly with thoſe Kings which are of that condition (as one ſaid) that there is not two fingers breadth betweene their ſmile and their ſword; to the end that this their priuacie might bee had in the leſſe eſteeme. For your beſt Fauourites are but like your better ſort of fruits, which are ſooneſt ſubiect to be worme-eaten. For Enuie is a very worme, and hath the ſame qualities as a worme hath; and ſpreads it ſelfe ſo farre, that it extends it ſelfe euen to thoſe that haue beene benefited by the Fauourite; the couetouſneſſe and reſentment of that which they doe not receiue, working more vpon them then the Law of thankfulneſſe, or of a gratefull acknowledgement for that, which they haue receiued. So that wee may ſay, That few are they who loue thoſe from whoſe hand they haue receiued ſome good, becauſe it was no greater. And thoſe that haue receiued none, that they are therein iniured, and wronged. So, that to qualifie and temper this inconuenience, it ſhall be wiſedome in Fauourites (and it will concerne them to vſe all the meanes they can deuiſe to effect it) to procure to bee wellbeloued. And no leſſe in Kings to ſeeke out ſuch as are modeſt, louing, affable, vertuous, honeſt, well beloued, and of a gratefull and thankfull diſpoſition.

Chap. XXXV.

How Kings ought to carry themselues towards their Fauourites.



For to resolue this Question, and to giue satisfaction to that which is here proposed in this Chapter, it being a matter of so tender and dangerous a touch: I will first lay for my foundation, a true point of doctrine in naturall Philosophie, celebrated with that sentence of the glorious Saint *Austen*; *Amor meus, pondus meum, ipse fero, quocunque feror*: The plummet which peaseth man, and the wings wherewith the heart makes it's flight, is loue, which doth leade the dance to all the other passions of the soule. And as those that saile in a deepe sea, with full sailes, runne on their course without any danger; but when they draw neare the shore, they take them downe and ruffle them that they may not runne their ship vpon some shelfe, or split it selfe against some rocke; so likewise, when the heart is lifted vp vnto the loue of God, which is infinite goodnesse, it may without perill plough the seas of this world; and with full sayles cut the Maine, without danger of shelues, quicksands, or rockes. For (according to that saying of the glorious Saint *Bernard*) as the cause of our louing God, is God himselfe: so, the measure of louing him, is to loue him without measure. *Causa diligendi Deum, Deus est; modus dilectionis, sine modo diligere.* As the cause of our loue is infinite; so must it be without taxe or limitation, wherein there can be no excesse. But when the heart drawes but little water, and touches too close vpon these things of the earth, which haue

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their goodneſſe much limited, it will be high time, and very fit and conuenient, to ſtrike the ſayles of our loue, and to go on with a great deale of caution and conſideration, leſt this our veſſell ſhould ſticke in the ſands, neuer to bee gotten out againe, or fall vpon ſome rocke or other of vnaduiſedneſſe and indiſcretion. And this is ſo certaine a truth, that albeit the loue to our parents be ſo naturall, and obligatory, and ſo giuen vs in charge by God, with the promiſes of ſo many bleſſings on thoſe children which ſhall cumply with this loue, and with ſo many threatnings on thoſe that ſhall faile therein; yet notwithſtanding God himſelfe will, that therein there ſhould be a limitation and moderation. *Qui amat patrem, aut matrem, plus quam me, non eſt me dignus*: He that loueth father or mother more then me, is not worthy of me. Mat. 10.37. And the common old Adage ſaith, That friendſhip muſt go no further then *uſque ad aras*, and ſtop there. And howbeit ſome would haue the limit, which is here put to loue, to be Death; I ſay, that it's limit, is Reaſon, and obedience to Gods Commandements. For when our Loue ſhall come to encounter with them, it is to make a ſtand, and go no further.

Our ſecond ground or foundation whereon we ſhall build, is this, That in Kings, next vnto the loue of God, and his Chriſtian Religion, no loue ought to be like vnto that, which they ought to beare vnto their kingdomes, and commonwealths, for the end, for which Kings were firſt inſtituted and ordained, was the common good of their kingdomes. And as children haue a naturall obligation to loue their parents, becauſe from them, they haue receiued their naturall being; ſo Kings owe the like to their kingdomes and Commonwealths, becauſe next vnder God, they gaue them their being of Kings, and that power and authoritie, whereby they were to protect, defend, and augment them. Vpon theſe grounds and foundations muſt that loue and friendſhip be laid, which is to be held with Fauourites. Lo-

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uing them, and giuing them power and authoritie, conformable to that, which for this end shall be thought most conuenient. For albeit they (as *Seneca* saith) keepe the key of their Kings heart, and in matters of secretie and benefits, are preferred before the rest; yet this must be done with a Christian kinde of prudence and discretion. Hauing euermore an especiall care, that the force of his loue be not so violent, and so boundlesse, that to giue content to one sole Fauourite, hee discontent all the rest of his Subiects; and to shew himselfe faithfull and true vnto him, breake that faith and truth, which he owes vnto God, and his diuine Law. And that he proceed likewise therein with that freedome and libertie, that his Loue may not passe the bounds of reason, nor bee (like some ships that are runne on ground) so surely setled, that he cannot get off when hee will, and to turne that loue into hatred, and a full determination and resolution of punishment, when the faults of a Fauourite shall deserue his iust displeasure. *Non habitabit in medio domus meæ, qui facit superbiam, &c.* Whoso hath a proud looke, and an high stomacke, I will not suffer him. Mine eyes looke vnto such, as be faithfull in the land, that they may dwell with mee. And whoso leadeth a godly life, he shall be my seruant; but there shall no deceitfull person dwell in my house. And he that telleth lies shall not tarry in my sight. As likewise it is iust and meete, that on the contrary, hatred, punishment, and chastisement, should be turned into amitie, loue, and friendship, when the person hated, shall deserue well. And this is the meaning of that ancient Prouerbe, *Ama, tanquam osurus & odio habe, tanquam amaturus.* The drift and scope of all which is this; That when wee shall place our loue and affection vpon humane things, it be done with aduisednesse, considering how subiect they are to change and alteration. So that, that which to day deserues our loue, may to morrow deserue our hate: And on the contrary, that which is disliked and abhorred, may merit our loue, and good esteeme. And we haue hereof a very

Senec. lib. 1. Epist. 3.

Psal. 101. 7.

very good example in the foresaid King *Assuerus*, who so soone turned that loue which he bare vnto *Haman*, into that hatred, that hee caused him to be hanged vp; and *Mardocheus*, that was condemned to the gallowes, he raised vnto honour, and put him into that place of priuacie and greatnesse, which proud *Haman* so lately enioyed. Nor can Fauourites haue cause to complaine, if it be granted vnto them, that their priuacie may reach so farre, that their Kings may loue them, as they do their owne royall persons. But it is a doctrine receiued by all the Philosophers, That the rule of that true friendship and loue, which one man beareth vnto another, is to be measured and considered by that which euery man beares vnto himselfe. And that which equalls it selfe in this, is very perfect loue. *Amicitia lex prescribitur, vt non minus, nec plus quisquam, amicum suum, quàm seipsum diligat.* The Law of friendship is, that a man should not loue his friend lesse, or more, then himselfe. *Nemo* (saith Saint *Paul*) *animam suam odio habet, sed nutrit, & fouet eam*: No man euer yet hated his owne flesh, but nourisheth and cherisheth it. And yet notwithstanding this selfe-loue ought so to bee ordered by reason, that whensoeuer it shall desire any thing contrarie thereunto, it must sharply be denyed it. *Acriter rejiciendus est* (saith the learned Saint *Chrisostome*) In like manner, when Fauourites shall craue or desire any thing contrary to reason, or the publike good of the commonwealth, they must bee denyed, what they demand, and Kings vpon those occasions must shew themselues seuere and austere towards them. And this doctrine is so cleare and so plaine, that our Sauiour Christ left it for a patterne vnto Princes, in that answer of his which he gaue vnto his two kinsmen and Fauourites, *Iohn* and *Iames*, when hee told them, *Nescitis, quid petatis; Potestis bibere calicem? &c.* Ye know not what ye aske. Can ye drinke of the cup, &c. *Non est meum dare vobis, sed quibus paratum est à Patre meo.* To sit on my right hand, and on my left hand, is not mine to giue, but it shall bee giuen vnto them,

Aug. lib. 1. Soliloq. ca. 3.

Ephes. 5. 29.

Mark. 10. 37.

them, for whom it is prepared. And howbeit the words in this answer haue so many sundry expositions, and diuers constructions, as the Interpreters vpon this place doe render; yet haue I noted three things therein, worthy the consideration, and of much conueniencie for Kings. In the first place, I obserue the curtnesse and sharpnesse of the answer, together with the ill-aduised and indiscreete request of those two Fauourites, set downe in these three words: *Nescitis quid petatis*: Ye know not what ye aske. And when Fauourites shall not weigh and consider with themselues, what, and how they aske; Let Kings bethinke themselues, what, and how they giue. And let them not giue so much to one, as may giue occasion to all the rest to murmure, and complaine. And let them likewise take into their consideration, that the common condition of your Fauourites, is like vnto that of other particular men, still to desire to better themselues in their estate and degree. And therefore it shall bee a great point of wisdome, not to grant vnto them all that they shall aske; as here our Sauiour Christ aduiseth Kings. Wotting well, that though they grant them their request, yet are they not contented therewith, but rather take heart and courage vnto them to craue more and more, and with greater earnestnesse then they did before. For, Ambition and Couetousnesse are not satisfied, nor slackened with abundance, but are like vnto those that are sicke of the Dropsie, who the more they drinke, the more they thirst. And besides this heaping of honour vpon honour, and gift vpon gift, hath a greater danger with it, in regard of those persons that receiue them. For most certaine it is, that the appetite of man is Hydropicall, which the more he drinketh, the more he thirsteth; and the more he getteth, the more he desireth. And Princes may giue so much, that like Lucifer, they may come at last to couet and desire that, which their Kings possesse. What an honorable creature was he, and of what singular parts, yet did he rebell against his Creator, out of Enuie and Pride, and onely occa-

occaſioned through thoſe many graces and fauours which God had enriched him withall. And for that we are all of vs creatures, the like may be feared from vs; Being that we are not ſo incapable of this, as was that Angell of that which hee deſired. And it is fit, that wee ſhould leaue our ſelues ſomething to giue; for ordinarily we do all of vs deſire (a qualitie wherewith mans appetite is well acquainted) and which hath cauſed the greateſt and the fouleſt falls. For who is he, that would not (if he could) haue command, and be a King? And wee ought likewiſe to keepe ſomething in our hands to beſtow, that we may not grow weary of ſeruing, being we can expect no further fauours, nor looke for any more rewards. For this alſo is very naturall, and a faſhion of ancient ſtanding with moſt men, to waxe weary of ſtanding at a ſtay, not contenting themſelues to continue that grace, place, and rewards, which they haue already acquired; but hold that for an affront, being now growne rich, which before they would haue taken for a great fauour, when they were poore. Thus doe we grow vnthankfull; and thus doe we grow forgetfull, being vainly carried away with the conceit of what we are. And we looſe the ſight of that low and meane eſtate, wherein we were, by being raiſed to that highth and eminencie, wherein wee ſee our ſelues to bee ſeated. A naturall fault in mans eye-ſight, which knowes not how to looke downeward; and as vnwilling to looke backward, but as much forward as you will. But theſe forward birds, doe well deſerue to haue the waxe, wherewith their wings are faſtened, to be melted by that very Sunne, that gaue them their firſt warmth and light, and by their fall to be left an example to the world, to terrifie others. And in caſe, for ſome eſpeciall reſpect, Kings ſhall reſolue with themſelues, that all the beames of their greatneſſe ſhall illighten and giue life to one particular perſon, let the foundation of their fauours bee layed vpon thoſe qualities, deſarts, and ſeruices, which ought to concurre on thoſe perſons on whom they purpoſe thus to particularize.

Kings

Kings likewise are to consider the Petitions of those that sue vnto them; which is my second obseruation, and taught
Mark.10.38. by Christ himselfe: *Potestis bibere calicem, quem ego bibiturus sum?* Can ye drinke of the cup that I drinke of? Iudging by himselfe, in this demand which hee makes to these his Fauourites, who so rashly and vnaduisedly came vnto him to petition him for the two principall places, that for to possesse them, they should haue all sufficient and requisite necessaries; vpon which point Christ examines them; and the like examination ought Kings to make of those qualities, specified by vs, touching both Pretenders and Fauourites.

The third thing which I recommend to your consideration, and which Christ teacheth Kings, is, the great caution and warinesse which they are to vse, in not being too facile, in granting all that their Fauourites shall require of them. Which is to bee gathered out of the last words of this his answer: *Non est meum dare vobis*: It is not mine to giue. Which, to my seeming, soundeth thus; It will not stand with my truth and iustice, to giue for kindreds-sake, or other humane respects, that which my eternall Father hath prepared for those which deserue best. Kings ought to bee very circumspect in promising, and not ouer easie in granting; for, if he shall be facile in granting what others shall desire, hee may haue cause to repent himselfe; and if he promiseth, hee looseth his liberty. A great gentleman of qualitie, whom King *Philip* the second much fauoured for his worthy parts, and great abilities, talking one day with him, and walking a good while with his Maiestie, after that hee had discoursed with him of diuers things, to the Kings so great good content and liking, that hee thought with himselfe, that there was now a faire occasion offered vnto him, to propound vnto him (as he did) a businesse of his owne. He told a friend of his, anon after that hee came from him, that in that very instant he proposed it, he cast such a strange and austere looke towards him, as if hee had neuer seene him before. Which

was

was no want of affection in the King towards him, for hee had had many sufficient testimonies thereof; but because it was fitting for so wise and prudent a King to haue that circumspection, lest his his affection might minister occasion vnto him to call his discretion in question, in granting, or not granting that which either is not, or at least shall seeme vnto him, not to be conuenient for him. For Kings must haue recourse to these two things; To haue a good and safe conscience with God, and intire authoritie, and good opinion with men. For with none doth that holy and prudent counsell of Saint *Paul* suite more properly, then with them; *Prouidemus* 2. Cor. 8. 21. *bona, non solum coram Deo, sed etiam coram hominibus*: Prouiding for honest things, not onely in the sight of the Lord, but in the sight of men. Which cannot be, when as Fauourites either doe all what they list of themselues, or get their Kings to doe it for them. When the Sensitiue appetite effecteth whatsoeuer it affecteth, the vnderstanding (which is the soules king) remaines oppressed and disgraced, and with that foule note, which the kingly Prophet *Dauid* giues it; *Homo, cum in honore esset, non intellexit, comparatus est iu-* Psal. 49. 12. *mentis insipientibus & similis factus est illis*: Man being in honour hath no vnderstanding, he is like the beasts that perish. And therefore when Kings out of their particular affection, or for the auoiding of trouble, and the fuller inioying of their ease and pleasure, shall giue absolute power to their Fauourites to doe and vndoe, as they please, presently one blot or other (which they will hardly euer get out) will bee laid vpon their royall persons. Nor need wee here to relate the hurt which comes thereby, and the occasion which it giues vnto the Subiects, neither to thinke nor speake of their Princes with that respect which is fitting; especially when the Fauourites are none of those which helpe to beare the weight and burthen of businesses, but shake them off from their owne shoulders, and lay them vpon other that are fitted to their hand, and of whom they rest well assured, that they will

will doe nothing but what they will haue them to doe, working their will and pleasure in all that they are able. And this is not that which Kings and Commonwealths need: but it much importeth, that their Fauourites should bee of that good and quicke dispatch in businesses, that all the people might loue them for it; for from the contrary great inconueniences are wont to arise. When the *Shechemites* were so vnmannerly and vnciuill in their language against their King *Abimilech*, amongst other things which they vttered and alledged against him, they said this in scorne of him; *Nunquid non est filius Ierobael, & constituit Principem Zabul seruum suum super viros Hemor patris Sichem, cur ergo seruiemus ei?* Who is *Abimelech*, that we should serue him? Is not he the sonne of *Ierubbaal*, and *Zebul* his Officer? why should wee serue him? &c. They tooke it very ill, that the King should raise his seruant *Zabul* to that heighth of honour and greatnesse, that he should be made Prince, as it were, ouer all the people of *Hemor* and *Sichem*. And howbeit the naturall obligation, which Subiects owe to their Kings, is so great, that they are bound to obey them in all that which is not against God; And that it is a token of great noblenes, to suffer with a good courage, whatsoeuer burthens, be they neuer so heauy, which they lay vpon them; yet notwithstanding they haue no such obligation to their Fauorites. For they may, for their pleasure, or their profit, substitute other their Fauourites, and oblige the people, that they either negociate with, or buy out their negociation of them. The History of King *Don Iuan* the second of Castile, doth affoord sufficient examples of the great persecutions that followed, by letting that his Fauourite haue so great a hand in businesses. For the people seeing their King so led by the nose, as it were, and to yeeld to all that he would haue him doe, were verily perswaded that he was bewitch't; for he had such power ouer the will & vnderstanding of the King, that he neither vnderstood what he gaue, nor knew not how, or at least had not the face to

Iud 9. 28.

denie

deny him any thing, that hee was willing either to aske, or take; whilſt like the vnthankfull yuie, he went ſucking away all the iuyce and ſappe of the tree, all that good Kings wealth and ſubſtance, his being, his authoritie, and little leſſe then his kingdome. And loſt by this meanes ſo much of his authoritie, that ſome of the *Grandes* of the kingdome, and the *Infantes*, his brethren, and the Kings of Aragon, and Nauarre, betooke them to their Armes, and made warre againſt him; he ſeeing himſelfe vpon ſome occaſions diſobeyed by his ſonne and Prince, and forſaken of his wife and Queene. Whereupon grew many ciuill broyles, and all vnder the title and pretext of recouering their libertie, and of pulling their neckes from vnder the yoke of that ſlauery and ſubiection wherein they were, rendering that reaſon in their excuſe, which all the whole kingdome could but take notice of, That all buſineſſes paſt through his Fauourites hands, and that the King did not negociate in his owne perſon. The proſecution whereof I remit to thoſe Hiſtories that make mention thereof. And it cannot bee denyed, that this Fauourite notwithſtanding had many good things in him, that might very well deſerue his Kings loue; for he had ſerued him valiantly in great and vrgent occaſions, and had put his perſon and life in perill for his ſake. But as his priuacie and fauour went increaſing, ſo with it increaſed his ambition and couetouſneſſe, and that in that high degree, that he grew hatefull to the whole kingdome; and in the end no leſſe odious to the King himſelfe: who comming at length vnto himſelfe, fell into the account of thoſe damages and loſſes, which he had receiued in his kingdome, both in his reputation and authoritie, by putting the reines wholly into his hands, taking thereby too much libertie to himſelfe, and ruling the State as he liſted. The *Grandes* repreſented to his Maieſtie the abuſes that inſued thereupon, as the ingroſſing of the greater Offices, and ſelling of the leſſer, and ouerſwaying the Courts of Iuſtice; And vſing many other effectuall perſwaſions, groun-

ded vpon other iuſt complaints, propoſing for remedie and redreſſe thereof, the intereſt & profit that might accrew vnto him, by calling him to account, and that he might thereby get into his hands an infinite deale of treaſure; the King liked very well of their propoſitions, and admitting their reaſons, he fell off from his Fauourite, waging warre againſt him with his owne money, wherewith hee thought, if neede ſhould ſerue, to ſuſtaine and vphold himſelfe. This ſlippery footing haue all thoſe things which haue not their hold-faſt in God. For they turne to the hurt of thoſe that put their truſt in them. And it is his mercie to mankinde, that they ſhould pay for it in this life, howſoeuer they ſpeed in the life to come; which we will leaue to Gods iuſtice, and the ſtrict account that will be taken of them. In concluſion, this great Fauourite dyed, being fallen from his priuacie with his Prince, depriued of all that wealth and treaſure which he had ſo greedily ſcraped together, ending his life with a great deale of ſorrow and diſcontent, and to the great reioycing of his oppoſites. Though this did not ſerue for a warning to thoſe that came after him, but without feare of the like terrible and deſperate falls, they ranne themſelues out of breath in the
Ioh. 3. 29. purſuite of the like priuacie. Saint *Iohn Baptiſt* (we know) was Chriſts great Fauourite; and the Goſpell ſtiles him to be *Amicus Sponſi*, the friend of the Bridegroome. But his great goodneſſe and holineſſe of life did the more glorioufly ſhew it ſelfe in this, that by how much the more Chriſt did in-greaten and authorize him, by ſo much the more did hee leſſen and humiliate himſelfe; and laboured by all poſſible meanes, by diminiſhing his owne, to increaſe the authoritie
Ioh. 3. 30. and credit of his Lord and Maſter, ſaying, *Illum oportet creſcere, me autem minui*: He muſt increaſe, but I muſt decreaſe. And this is that glaſſe wherein the Fauourites of Kings are to looke; taking into their conſideration, that by how much the more they ſeeke to greaten themſelues, in making oſtentation of their power and authoritie; by ſo much the more

they

they lessen and dis-authorise that of their Kings, with whom, is so dangerous any whatsoeuer shew, or shadow, of equalitie, or competition, that euen in the highest top of priuacie, the more certaine, and lesse reparable, vsually, is the fall. How iocond, and how well contented went *Haman* out of the palace, when Queene *Esther* inuited him to dine with the King and her selfe. When loe, the very next day after they dragged him from that banquet and royall Table to the gallowes. And therefore let no man trust or relye on the fauour of Kings, be he neuer so rich, or neuer so fortunate; for in them it is ordinarily seene, that all these faire shewes are commonly conuerted into manifest demonstrations of hatred.

Out of all this that hitherto hath beene said, let Fauourites make vnto themselues this vse and instruction, to know the danger and slipperinesse of the place wherein they stand, euen then when they finde themselues most of all inthronized. For most true is that saying, of, *Fulmen petit culmen*; The highest Towers, and the highest hills are most of all subiect to *Iones* thunder-bolts, and lightning. And let Kings likewise take this into their consideration by way of aduice, That when they shall haue found their Fauourites to be furnished with those qualities before specified, and that they are such, that thereby they may merit their grace and fauour, and so great, both place and part in their heart, it stands with very good reason, that they shou d bee honoured by them with particular mercedes and fauours, because they helpe them to beare the burthen of their cares, and are exposed to great dangers, and greater enuyings; as it happened to that great Fauourite of the King of Persia, whom the Princes of his kingdome did pretend to remoue from the Kings elbow, and to put him in the denne amidst the Lions, that by them hee might be there rent in peeces. Whereof, no other cause could be found against him, but his Kings fauour, bearing enuie to his priuacie (that common Moath to high places) from which none, be he neuer so good, neuer so honest, can escape. For,

it is very naturall in men to riſent, that hee ſhould out-ſtrip them, who but yeſterday was their fellow and companion. They hold that honour for an iniurie, that is done to their equall, and thinke themſelues go backward, and looſe of their authoritie and reputation, if another bee preferred before them. Which is ſuch an offence, that God preſently takes notice of it, and paſſeth it not ouer without puniſhment. For this priuacie with Kings is a thing of his diſpoſing, and for ſuch ends as hee pretends; and there is not any Subiect, that riſes to ſuch great place, but that he muſt paſſe through the weights and ballance of his diuine prouidence, who chooſeth theſe, and refuſeth thoſe, vſing them as meanes to worke his ſecret ends. Many (ſaith *Salomon*) ſeeke the Rulers fauour, but euery mans iudgement commeth from the Lord. The election comes from God, it is not ſo much the King, that chooſeth them, as God, who moues his heart thereunto. And if he do vphold them with his powerfull hand, in vaine is it for others to go about to trippe vp their heeles. For (as Saint *Cyprian* ſaith) *Calamitas ſine remedio eſt, odiſſe fœlicem.* To hate an happy and fortunate man, is a misfortune beyond all remedie; it is a torment and putrefaction of the heart, which is euer gnawing and martyring of the ſoule.

Prou. 29. 26.

Cypr. de zelo, & liuo.

Chap. XXXVI.

Whether the Kinsfolke and friends of Fauourites are to be excluded from Offices.

THis place requireth that we auerre that, which amongſt diſcreet perſons, and ſuch as are zealous of the common good, is vſually called in queſtion, and made a doubt: To wit, whether or no, it be inconuenient, that the Kinsfolke, friends, and followers of Kings Fauourites ſhould bee put into places of Office and Gouernment? For, it cannot but ſeeme an vnreaſonable thing, that thoſe who haue ſuch parts and qualities as well deſerue to bee employed in ſuch places of charge and command, ſhould therefore onely and *eo nomine*, bee excluded from them, for that they haue alliance and friendſhip with the ſaid Fauourites. Being that this, in it ſelfe, is not ill. Beſides the loue and affection which Kings beare vnto their Fauourites, cannot (like your bad-made-clothes) ſo ſhrinke vpon themſelues, or be ſo ſtraight-laced, that it ſhall not likewiſe extend it ſelfe to the friends and allyes of thoſe, to whom they profeſſe ſo much loue. Againe, a good, if not a greater part of theſe mens happineſſe and content, conſiſteth in being able to do good, and to raiſe their friends.

But for the better ſatisfying of this doubt, it is fit that we ſhould firſt conſider and diſtinguiſh of the qualitie of the perſons of this Alliance and friendſhip with thoſe Fauourites, as alſo of the condition and qualitie of thoſe offices. For in your offices there are ſome of grace, and ſome of Iuſtice. In the diſtribution of the former, we are to looke no further then to grace, and the Kings good will and pleaſure. In the latter

to that distribution which is agreeable to distributiue Iustice. There is likewise a great difference in the persons. For some are of better qualities and deserts, then other some. And these are in all prouisions that are made to be first preferred, be they, or be they not, of kinne and acquaintance with the Fauourites. And there are many good reasons that make for their part. Others there are, that are inferiour in merit, and the foresaid qualities; and these in no wise, may or ought to be preferred for the kindred or friendship which they hold with Fauourites. For it were a sinne of accepting of persons, which is contrary to distributiue Iustice. Others there are, that are euery way equall with the rest of the pretenders; and on this Hinge, hangs the force of the Question. Now if they shall stand in this equalitie, and vpon these equall tearmes with the rest, in those qualities that are fitting for Office, it seemeth that they should receiue some wrong, in being excluded without any fault of theirs; For it is no fault, to bee the friend or kinsman of a Fauourite. To this doubt, the answer would be made the more difficult, if your Fauourites through their too much ambition and couetousnesse had not taught vs the great inconueniences which result in a Commonwealth, by opening this doore vnto them, and conferring the said Offices on their friends and Allyes, vnder colour and pretext that they are as well deseruing as others. First of all, for that Kings, as Shepherds and common parents of the whole Commonwealth, are to make a distribution of honours, and of wealth, equally reparting and diuiding them, in that indifferent manner, that they may reach to all houses and families, or at least to extend t[h]em as farre as they are able. Like a good Husbandman, who, that hee may haue a good and plentifull crop, throwes and scatters his seed on this side, and that side, and euery where. Secondly, for that it is a very odious thing, and which breedeth bad bloud, and ingendreth ill humours in those who onely in regard of this their kindred and friendship, see themselues depriued and debarred

debarred of that, which they might otherwiſe challenge by deſert. And others on the other ſide, when they ſee that they can neither come to be kinſmen, nor friends, nor of familiar acquaintance with Fauourites (which are the references that muſt preferre them) the firſt nature hauing denyed it them; the other their bad fortune, or the Fauourites diſaffection, ſeeing themſelues hopeleſſe of all helpe and remedie, either they runne themſelues headlong into ſome deſperate attempt, or at leaſt fall to flagge in their vertue; either of which cannot chooſe but bee of great inconuenience to the Commonwealth. Thirdly, for that it is not fitting, that Fauourites ſhould come to be very powerfull, either in their owne proper wealth and ſubſtance, or in the greatnes and ſtrength of their friends and Allies. For the more they increaſe in theſe, the more doe their Kings decreaſe; and ſometimes it hath beene ſeene to grow to that exceſſe, that powerfull Princes haue ſeene, or at leaſt imagined themſelues to be of leſſer power then they could haue wiſht it, or had beene needfull to haue repreſſed, and cut ſhort the ambitious wings, and high flowne inſolencies of their Fauourites. Fourthly, for that vnder this colour, occaſion might bee giuen to Fauourites to diſpoſe in ſuch ſort of the gouernment of kingdomes, that Kings ſhould not come to the knowledge of ought that paſſeth in them, be it good or bad, more then ſhall ſtand with the good liking of their Fauourites, and make moſt for their owne ends. So that, neither thoſe that are wronged, ſhall finde meanes to bee righted; nor thoſe that are zealous of the common good, and of their Kings authoritie and reputation, be admitted to aduertiſe and giue notice vnto him, of that which doth moſt concerne him. For Kings, by reaſon of their retiredneſſe, cannot come to the full knowledge of all that paſſeth. One of the things wherewith they charged that great Fauourite of King *Don Iuan*, in that ſentence which they pronounced againſt him, was, That hee had put into the offices of the Kings houſe, and without his

house, and in places of gouernment, persons that were tyed and wedged to his house, either by fee-tayle, or by friendship. I referre my selfe to that, which the sentence saith, speaking in the person of King *Don Iuan* the second. And it is not to be doubted, that when Fauourites shall wholly apply themselues to seaze vpon all the Ports, thereby to know all, and so to stoppe vp all the doores and passages, that none can come to negociate with their Kings, but by their hands, it is no other but a binding of their Kings hands, and to oppresse them with a palliated and cloaked kinde of tyranny, with relation to their priuate Interest. And because from our very first entrance into this our discourse, our purpose was to confirme whatsoeuer we proposed, by the testimonies of holy Scripture, to the end that no man vpon any false presuppossall, should so much as surmise, or thinke, that we go about to tread too neare vpon the heeles of Fauourites, I will likewise remit my selfe in this particular, to that Letter registred in the Scripture, which that great King *Artaxerxes* wrote to all the Dukes and Princes, and to all his vassalls of 127. Prouinces of his kingdomes, wherein with indeared reason hee propoundeth the insolencies and tyrannies, exercised by Fauourites, who vsing amisse the fauours and mercedes, which their Kings doe them, seeke to carry all things before them, with a high hand. And for that the holy Ghost would haue all this set down in the sacred History, we may here very well interiect some part thereof, which is well worthy the noting,

Esther 16.2. *Multi, bonitate principum, & honore, &c.* Many, the more often they are honoured with the great bounty of their gracious Princes, the more proud they are waxen; And indeauour to hurt not our Subiects onely, but not being able to beare abundance, doe take in hand to practise also against those that doe them good. And take not onely thankfulnesse from among men, but also lifted vp with the glorious words of lewd persons, that were neuer good, they thinke to escape the iustice of God, that seeth all things, and hateth euill. Oftentimes

tentimes also, the faire speech of our friends put in trust to mannage the affaires, haue caused many that are in authoritie to bee partakers of innocent bloud, and hath inwrapped them in remediless calamities. Beguiling with the falsehood and deceit of their lewd disposition, the innocencie and goodnesse of Princes, &c. And it oftentimes commeth to passe, that the good actions and intentions of Kings are hindered, and the light of their Iustice eclipsed, by the interposition of some terrestriall bodie, which doth darken the glory thereof, as the interuention of the earth, obscureth the Sunne. And the publike misfortunes which befall the commonwealth, and the particular wrongs and iniustices, which men by this meanes must indure, euen vnder the raigne of a iust and religious King, make his Empire hatefull; for it is a naturall property incident to the vulgar, when any misfortune shall befall a State, to remoue the blame from themselues, and to lay the fault vpon those that are of greater ranke and quality. But to returne to our intended purpose, I say, That in the Offices of Iustice (I meane) wherein distributiue Iustice requireth consideration of merit, way is not to bee giuen to the friends and kinsfolke of Fauourites, but respect rather to bee had to the common good, wherein is to bee vsed the fore-specified warinesse and circumspection. And in such sort may the resentment and complaints of the kingdome increase, that howbeit the said friends and kinsmen, should in their abilities haue the aduantage of others, yet ought they to be excluded. For this reason, in point of weale publike, is of more weight and consequence, then any sufficiencie whatsoeuer in those other pretenders. Marry, in those other offices which we call Offices of grace, (for that they neither haue the administration of Iustice, nor gouernment, the hand may be stretched out in a freer manner vnto those that haue any reference of amitie or alliance vnto Fauourites. But these offices are but few, and of no great importance; and in case an exact consideration should bee had, there being not

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that office, bee it neuer so small, wherein a man shall not meete with some opposites and pretenders, wee must not be too hasty, but hold the hand awhile, that fitting prouision might be made according to the qualities and merits of the person. One, that was a principall Councellour of State, certified a certaine graue and worthy person, that he being *Alcalde de Corte*, the common hangmans office fell voide, and that hee was so earnestly sued vnto, and such intercessions therein vsed, that he was faigne to make two, the better to cumply with his owne obligation, and their importunitie. And of the Catholicke Queene *Donna Isabel*, it is said, That when she gouerned the State, together with King *Don Fernando*, her husband, there fell by chance a paper from forth her sleeue, wherein shee had written with her owne hand; Let the Cryars place of such a Citie be bestowed vpon such a one, for that he hath the best voice. And if in so meane an office, these Catholicke and prudent Princes had such great care and respect to the qualities of the persons; what care ought there to bee had in those of Iustice and gouernment? What in Ecclesiasticall dignities, which are the pillars of our sacred Religion? When the day of that strict and rigorous account shall come, which God shall require at their hands, they will then see how much this did import them.

Let then the finall resolution of this question be, That supposing that the naturall inclination of Fauourites, is to benefit all, and that those that are neareſt vnto them, for what respect soeuer it be, are to bee preferred vnto Honours and Offices, I will not straighten them so much, nor my words, and counsell, and seeme to be too much republike, and intire, in condemning all their actions; for that it hath been a thing alwayes permitted to those that are put in such high places. But I would not haue it passe for a rule, in the prouision of publike offices, through which haue past such persons as well vnderstood what belonged to State affaires, and the conseruation of Kings, and their kingdomes, and that were complete

complete in all kinde of good learning and knowledge; who witting, that those, who had power with their Kings, would fauour those that were theirs, out of that inclination which is common to all men, haue not stickt to say, that this may be done, but with this consideration, that it bee not to the hurt of the commonwealth. For there is not that ground, plant, or man, so barren, but hath some vertue in it, and is good for some Ministrie or other. In confirmation whereof, wee are likewise to consider, that in naturall things, there is not any so vile, and so base, which alwayes, and at all times is vnprofitable. And there are some cases, wherein Experience hath taught the profit, that may be taken therefro, for the vse and conseruation of mans life. And on the other side, there is nothing so precious, so estimable, and so wholsome, which is alwayes, and at all times, profitable. For there are some, as also some infirmities, which would proue mortall, should they bee applyed vnto them. And therefore mans prudence doth come to consist in this, to know it's qualitie, and to vnderstand aright the estate and complexion of the man, and according thereunto to make vse thereof, and of it's vertue. And therefore hee that hath (by his Kings fauour) the supreme disposall of all, let him consider and know, either by himselfe, or by others that are his confident friends, (being as free, as free may bee, from naturall affections) the dispositions and inclinations of men, and together with this, the qualitie of the offices, and persons, which are to gouerne, and bee gouerned; and let him imply euery one in that, for which hee shall bee found fit and good. And keeping this course, he shall cumply with his owne inclination, and naturall desires. And shall therein do his King and countrey good seruice. But for a conclusion and vpshot of all that is past, let those aduertisements serue, which follow in the subsequent Chapter.

CHAP.

Chap. XXXVII.

The Conclusion of the former Discourse, with some Aduertisements for Kings and Fauourites.

ALL those that write of the qualities of a good Prince, doe agree in this, that he ought to haue his will free, independent, subiect onely to God, and his diuine Law, without subiecting, or submitting it to any other loue. For it booteth little, that he be Lord of many kingdomes, if he be a slaue to that which hee extremely loueth. That he ought to bee of a good courage, and of a sound and setled iungement, not suffering a superiour, or equall in his gouernment. For (as wee said in the beginning of this Discourse) kingdomes are by so much the more sustained, and augmented, by how much the more neare they approach to the gouernment of one. Whereas on the contrary, they runne much hazard, when the reynes of the Empire are diuided, and put into seuerall hands. The Romanes neuer enioyed so much peace and plenty, as after that *Augustus Cæsar* was declared sole Lord of the Empire, without dependance on any other. Which aduise (amongst many other good instructions) the Emperour *Charles* the fifth gaue likewise vnto the King his Sonne, to wit, That he should be a very precise louer of Truth; That hee should not giue himselfe ouer vnto Idlenesse; And that he should alwayes shew himselfe a free and independant King; not onely in apparence, but in substance. For it is very proper vnto Kings to rule, not to be ruled. And to administer their kingdomes themselues by their owne will, and not by anothers. For he will not be said

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to be a King, who being to command, and correct all, should easily suffer himselfe to be led away, and gouerned by others. And therefore it is fit, that hee should alwayes stand vpon his owne bottome, and in none of his actions expresse himselfe to depend on the aide and opinion of others. For this were to acknowledge a Superiour, or a Companion in gouernment, and to discouer his owne weakenesse. *Infirma enim est potentia* (saith *Patritius*) *quæ alienis viribus nititur*: That's but a poore power, that must bee vnder-propt by the strength of others. In stead whereof, I would haue him to sit in Councell, and to treate and communicate businesses with such persons to whom it appertaineth, as heretofore I said. Saying onely now, That that King is in a miserable and lamentable case, that must depend on anothers helpe. Vpon a certaine occasion, *Alexander* the Great said; *Se malle mori, quam regnare rogando*: That he had rather die, then raigne by supplicating and intreating. And no otherwise doth that King raigne, who shewes himselfe a Coward, and suffers the excellencie of his courage to bee ouerwhelmed and carried away with the current of hard and difficult things, which many times offer themselues, leauing the resolution of all to the mercie and fauour of others, by whose helping hand it seemeth that he liueth and raigneth. This (said the Emperour *Vespasian*) is to dye standing. And as that King is dead, which leaues that to another which hee can doe himselfe, and which doth properly appertaine vnto his office; and as he shall not truly cumply with his obligation, if he should go about to draw solely to himselfe the gouernment of his whole kingdome; much lesse in like manner shall he cumply therewith, if hee should cast off all care from himselfe, and relye wholly vpon others. For Extreames, in all things, are ill. And an extreme thing it were, that hee should take vpon himselfe the whole weight and burthen of businesses, and to haue all things passe through his owne hands; it being likewise no lesse, if he should shift off all from his

Patri. lib. 3. fi. 21. Tit. 3.

his owne shoulders, and put his hand to nothing, as did *Vitellius*, and *Iouinianus*, who did in such sort dis-loade themselues of their offices, and ridde their hands of all matter of gouernment, that all was ordered and gouerned by other mens arbitrement, and none of theirs. Of the former it is reported, that he forgot that hee was Emperour. And of the other, that hee intended nothing but eating and drinking, gaming and whoring. So that both of them came to such miserable ends, as their retchlesse and careleſse kinde of liuing had deserued. *Childericke*, King of France, and third of that name, is (and not without iust cause) condemned by the writers of those times, for that hee did wholly quit himselfe of businesses, and led so idle and unprofitable a life, that he tooke care of nothing, recommending all to his great Fauourite *Pipine*, who did rule and gouerne him as hee listed. And there was not any meeting or conuersation throughout the kingdome, wherein men did not mutter and murmure at it. For their nimble and actiue nature could by no meanes indure, that their King should be but the shadow of a King, and stand for a Cypher, sheltering himselfe vnder the shade of another. Which could not choose (considering how vsuall a thing it is) but put spirit into *Pipine*, and adde mettall to his power. For it is very proper to the condition of men, the more high they are in place and dignitie, to desire the more honour, and the more wealth. There are but few of your great and powerfull persons, which are not hydropicall, and doe not thirst after new honours, and new aduancements; And some haue proceeded so farre in their pretensions, that they haue presumed (as this Fauourite did) to quit the King of his Crowne. Willingly hearkening vnto those flatterers about him, which did whisper this in his eare, and egge him on vnto it. It likewise began to bee treated of amongst the great Lords of that kingdome, How much better command and rule were in one Head, then in two: And how that all kingdomes had euermore a desire to haue but

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one Prince; And that all prudent and wiſe men, haue (in reaſon of State) held this gouernment to be the beſt and ſureſt; and that it was not fit, that the vniforme body of a commonwealth, or kingdome, ſhould bee ſubiect and obedient to two Heads: To wit, that one ſhould enioy the name and title of King, and the other poſſeſſe the power. And that it were better that all ſhould obey one, that had wiſedome and experience, and that had beene bred vp in buſineſſes, and the mannaging of State-affaires, whereby to gouerne them in peace and Iuſtice. And ſithence, that in *Pipine* theſe qualities did concurre, and that on him all the buſineſſes of importance did depend, it were good that hee ſhould bee their King, and that *Childericke* ſhould take his eaſe and pleaſure. Hereupon they treated with *Pipine*, who though hee gaue eare vnto what they ſaid, yet would not raſhly aduenture himſelfe to accept of the Crowne, vnleſſe Pope *Zacharias* might firſt be conſulted therein. Whereupon they ſent their Embaſſadours, who had inſtruction to render ſuch reaſons to the Pope, that might moue him to approue thereof, and iudging *Childericke* to bee vnfit for the gouernment, might abſolue the French of their oath which they had taken, and that obedience which they ought to their King, and that he ſhould depriue him of the kingdome, and further declare, That ſince *Pipine* did rule and command all, and had ſo many good indowments, that hee might likewiſe be inueſted with the title of King. And the Archbiſhop of *Maguncia* was the man, that was nominated to ſet the Crowne on his head, and to declare him to bee King of all France. Being thus back't, they ſummoned a Parliament, degraded the poore ſeely king, and thruſt him into a Monaſtery, and *Pipine* was ſworne and proclaimed King of thoſe ſo many kingdomes and Signories, as were then ſubiect to the Crowne of France. Hence had it's firſt beginning, and that hand and power giuen vnto Popes, in ſo great a buſineſſe, as the ſetting vp and pulling downe of Kings; and which is more, of creating new Emperours,

There remaineth teſtimony hereof in the Decretals. *C. Alim* 16. *q.*

rours, and depriuing the old ones of their Empire. Whereof there are many examples: And that which this Pope did with that King, who had no more then that vmbratill, and apparent power, other Popes afterwards did the like with *Henries* and *Fredericks*, and other Tyrants of great puisance and power. The one offend in the more: the other in the lesse. The one, out of the ambition that they haue to bee Kings, that they may command, and doe all, loose all, and so go to hell. And the other go the same way, for that they will not bee (as they should be) Kings, but giue themselues wholly vnto idlenesse. It was the Emperour *Galba's* vtter ouerthrow, that he had put the whole gouernment into onely three mens hands, which he brought along with him, possessing them with so much power, that hee was not Master of himselfe, depending still vpon their wil, and through that great authoritie which they had, they ouerthrew all whatsoeuer their King did ordaine, thrusting their armes (as we say) vp to the elbowes in all affaires, and making vse of their present fortune. And for that this vnfortunate Emperour could take notice of no more, then what hee had from them; for none (without their permission) could, or see, or speake with him, they made him to do that, which that other Potter did, who going about to make a pot, to boyle meate in, made a Iarre, to put drinke in. And he thinking to substitute Iudges, that should administer Iustice, appointed theeues in their place, which robbed the Commonwealth. All which was imputed vnto him. And for that Vanity is the mother of so many vices, all this their great fauour serued to no other vse, but to cause their Soueraigne to commit many actions of iniustice, and indiscretion, and of vnheard of, and vnthought of wrongs, violently breaking through the ordinary course of Iustice. By which exorbitant proceedings, this imprudent Emperour grew to be hated and abhorred of all, and not being able longer to beare with him, they depriued him at once of his life, and Empire. And these kinde of Caterpillars (said

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the Emperour *Sigismund*) make those Kings vnfortunate, that put their affiance in them. At this careleſſe ward, liued at firſt *Ageſilaus*, King of the *Lacedemonians*, though afterwards (like a wiſe Prince) hee did rectifie this errour. And the caſe was this; Hee let his friend and Fauourite *Liſander* carry a great hand ouer him, and did honour him in all that he could, expreſſing alwayes much loue vnto him; *Lyſander* puft vp herewith, tooke great ſtate vpon him, being attended with a great traine, and manifeſting in his very gate a kinde of extraordinary grauitie and Maieſtie, and all did ſo farre forth ſerue and obey him, that it ſeemed he had vſurped the dignitie royall, and the Empire, leauing good honeſt *Ageſilaus* onely the bare Titulary name of King. Which his Maieſtie taking into his conſideration, to the end that the people might not ſay, that hee raigned by *Lyſanders* helpe, he withdrew the diſpatch of buſineſſes from forth his hands, and would not remit any thing vnto him, and if he ſpake to him touching this or that buſineſſe, he made as if he did not heare him, or not well vnderſtand him, diſpatching all himſelfe, to the good contentment of his Subiects. Hereupon *Lyſander* began to caſt vp his accounts with himſelfe, and forbore from that time forward to conferre fauours, or to promiſe Offices; and told ſuch ſuiters as came vnto him, that they ſhould go themſelues to petition the King, and would by no meanes permit, that they ſhould accompany him to Court, as before. And yet notwithſtanding all this, he aſſiſted very carefully in all ſuch ſeruices, as were by his Maieſty recommended vnto him, without any the leaſt ſhew of diſcontentment. Within a while after occaſion was offered vnto him to ſpeake with the King; and talking with him, hee told him; O King, how well haſt thou learned to make thy friends leſſe? yes (quoth the King) when they will make themſelues too great. The King played his part well, ſo did the Fauourite, and all ought to doe the like. Kings muſt bore a hole in that ſhip with their owne hand, to ſtop it's courſe,

Æneas Siluius de dict. Sigismund.

when it hoyseth it's sayles too high, and goes with too still a gale. For the taking notice of their Fauourites ambition, is that ballast, which doth secure them against those their windes, and puffes of vanitie.

Let then the first aduice, and which is of greatest importance for Kings and Christian kingdomes, bee that which (amongst other) the Catholicke King of Spaine, and Emperour *Charles* the fifth, left vnto his sonne King *Philip* the second, wherein with many indeared and effectuall words, he recommends vnto him the obseruing, augmenting, and defending of the Christian faith, in all his kingdomes, States, and Signiories, seuerely punishing with all rigour and iustice, without exception of persons, all such as should bee either suspected or found culpable in points of Heresies, Errours, and depraued Sects, contrary to the Catholicke faith. For therein consisteth all our good words, all of them, worthie consideration, and worthy so Catholicke a Prince, esteemed, approued, and perpetually obserued by his most happie sonne (howbeit to his great cost.) As one, that knew very well, that in the obseruance of Religion, and Catholicke faith, all the happinesse that we can hope for in this or that other life, dependeth thereupon, and hath it's sure ground and foundation. And therefore Saint *Paul* calls it *Substantiam rerum sperandarum, &c.* Faith is the substance of things hoped for, and the euidence of things not seene, &c. For it is the foundation whereupon is built in our soules all our spirituall good: insomuch that the selfe same Apostle said, *Sine fide, &c.* Without faith it is impossible to please God. And seeing it is a Iewell of such great worth and value, Kings are to make that esteeme of it, that they doe not onely retaine it, but maintaine and defend it, especially in their owne kingdomes, and in all other places, where they haue any power. For besides the obligation, which they haue, as Christian Kings, it concernes them likewise in their owne proper interest. For in giuing way to their Subiects, that they be

Heb. 11.1.

be not faithfull vnto God, it will pull that punishment vpon them, that they shall not be loyall vnto them. And most certaine it is, that they who shall not cumply with the greater obligation, shall easily faile in the lesser. And this is made cleare vnto vs in the sacred History of the Kings; where, whosoeuer shall diligently obserue the same, hee shall finde, That after *Ieroboam*, King of Israel, had set vp those Idolls in *Dan*, and *Bethel*, of purpose to withdraw the people from the true worship of God, were commenced and continued (as there wee may reade) the treasons and rebellions of the Subiects against their Kings. For this vnfortunate Prince thought with himselfe, that for to settle and secure himselfe in the kingdome by those ten Tribes, which had rebelled, and made choice of him for their King, that it would be a good meanes to induce them to his deuotion, to draw them to forgo the adoration of the true God, which they were wont to performe in the holy Citie, and Temple of Ierusalem, and to humble and prostrate themselues before those Idolls. But the iust vengeance of God ouertooke him; for instantly thereupon he lost his eldest sonne, who dyed a violent death. For *Baasha*, the sonne of *Ahijah*, of the house of *Issachar*, conspired against him, and smote him at *Gibbethon*, and anon after all the house of *Ieroboam*, not leauing vnto him any that breathed. And not onely hee, and his, did miscarry, but the whole kingdome was laid waste and desolate for that sinne, and led away captiue. And as when one man hath receiued from another some extraordinary great wrong, he can hardly forget it: so, vpon all occasions, wherein mention is made of the sinnes of the Kings, which afterwards succeeded, and of the punishment which they deserued for them, still is the remembrance reuiued of this most grieuous sinne of *Ieroboams*, and are attributed vnto him, as being the first that opened the gappe vnto them. And all those troubles which are there particularly set downe in those sacred bookes, befell that kingdome for a punishment to them, and a warning to 3. King. 13.

all Christian Kings, that by how much the greater light they haue for to know the excellencie of Faith, and the truth of Christian Religion, so much the lesse are they to be obeyed, and the more seuerely to bee punished, if they should be wanting to so great and so apparent an obligation. Let Christian Kings therefore know, that if they shall continue firme in the faith, and cause all their subiects to continue constant therein, God will protect both King and people, and will establish their kingdomes, and all shall obey and feare them; but if they shall faile therein, all runs to wracke, and vtter ruine. So that, as a naile, if you will haue it to hold, must be fastened in some other thing that is firme and strong, lest it, and all that hangs thereon, come tumbling downe to the ground. So in like manner, if a King will vphold himselfe firme and sure in his power, Maiestie, and greatnesse, hee must be firmely fixed to the faith, strongly vnited with God, and close wedged to his diuine will: but if he begin once to sinke, or shrinke in this, all his kingdomes, or whatsoeuer depend thereon, come tumbling downe to the ground, with a sudden and fearefull fall. For nothing doth more vphold a sociable life, a Monarchie, and kingdome, then Religion linked with Iustice. *Noah* for his Religion and Iustice, was after the Flood obeyed by all. The Romans, for the vpholding and inlarging of their Empire, held not any meanes comparable to that of Religion and Iustice, wherein they surpassed all of those times. The Emperour *Seuerus* being at the point of death (which is a time for men to speake truth) ended his life with these words, *Firmum imperium filijs meis relinquo, si boni erunt; Imbecille, si mali*: A strong Empire leaue I to my Sonnes, if they proue good; a weake, if bad. For the greatest force and strength of a kingdome, both for the present, and the future, is the vertue of it's king. So that with no lime and sand are the walls and foundations of States more firme and surely setled for lasting and continuance, then with a Kings vertue and goodnesse. Which is that recompence and reward

reward which God promiſed to his moſt faithfull ſeruant *Dauid*, for his vertue. *Firmabo regnum eius, & ſtabiliam thronum regni eius in ſempiternum*: I will eſtabliſh his kingdome, and I will ſtabliſh the throne of his kingdome for euer. That is, the title and dignitie of a King ſhould bee continued and confirmed vnto him, *tanquam in vſum & proprietatem*, for euer and euer. This firmneſſe in the faith, and this obſeruance of Religion and Iuſtice, are thoſe ſtrong pillars and columnes, which being truly cumplyed withall, do not onely vphold for the preſent, but doe likewiſe increaſe and perpetuate kingdomes. If good King *Iehoſaphat* had not entred into league and amitie with King *Ahab* the Idolater, it had not fallen out with him ſo ill as it did, nor his life beene put to that danger as it was. *Iudas Machabeus* heard tell of the great and famous deeds that the Romanes had done in feates of Armes, being a ſtranger-Nation to Gods people. Whereupon he ſent his Ambaſſadours vnto them, to make a perpetuall league and confederation with them. Wherewith God was much diſpleaſed, and ſo hurtfull vnto them was this amitie and alliance, that many haue obſerued, that after this Peace was concluded betweene them, *Iudas* neuer after obtained any victory ouer his enemies, but was ſlaine in the firſt battell that he fought. And ſome ſay, the like ſucceeded to both his brothers, *Ionathan* and *Simeon*.

3. *Reg.* 22.

1. Mac. 8. 9.

Let vs draw then from this diſcourſe and ſound aduice of this Catholike Emperour, how much it importeth Kings to maintaine their faith and Religion, and to conſerue and vphold the ſame in all their kingdomes and dominions. Now for to conſerue the faith, it is likewiſe requiſite, that there be great care had in procuring, that the commonwealth be purged and cleanſed of it's vices and ſinnes. For (as the Apoſtle Saint *Paul* ſaith) when vices grow to that head and rankneſſe, that they come to make men to be of a bad and corrupt conſcience, they go diſpoſing ſuch to ſuffer ſhipwracke in the faith; as it hath happened in theſe our times, in many parts of Europe.

The second aduice that I shall giue vnto Kings, is, that they carry themselues so in the dispatch of businesses, that notice may not bee taken, that they are dispatched by any other arbitrement, but their owne. For most certaine it is, that if it come to be knowne, that all the Orders that come forth, passe through the Fauourites hands, and as hee shall giue direction, they loose much of their force and efficacie; and the King much of his reputation and credit. His subiects will grow to contemne him; and strangers will make little reckoning of him; and many other mischiefes will ensue thereupon. Amongst the Romanes it was held for a great affront and dishonour, that the Emperour should dispatch (as they say) *percarta-pacio*, by a note booke, or some penn'd thing for him; or (like some young practitioner in physicke) by his Masters *Recipes*. And therefore in those generall processions, which they made, they besought God that hee would not punish them, by giuing them Princes, which had need to be ruled and guided by Gouernours and Tutors. For they knew well enough, that when God is angry, offended with the sinnes of the people, he punisheth them, by sending them Princes without knowledge and wisedome; that are not able to gouerne of themselues, but to doe as others shall aduise them. Wherein they did confesse and acknowledge, That to be a King, consisteth in being knowne and reuerenced of all; to be an independant Lord, not relying vpon any other; whose Mandates and Decrees all should subscribe vnto and obey; whom all should seeke vnto, with whom all should negociate, that are pretenders; from whose liberalitie, resolution, and will, they onely should acknowledge all the graces and fauours that are done them, and from no other hand. For if they should giue way thereunto, their Subiects will bee induced easily to beleeue, that together with this, they will giue away their greatnesse, and minister occasion to loose that common loue and respect which solely and properly is due vnto them. For Subiects vsually honour no other

Sunne, but that from which they receiue their light. They naturally abhorre that man, that does them hurt; and loue that person, who does them good, bee he what hee will be, good or bad, all is one. They call God *Optimum maximum*, because he both doth, and is able to do them good. And he himselfe doth glory therein, as being vnwilling that men should acknowledge the good they receiue, from any other. What wisedome then can there bee in that King, that shall suffer a Fauourite to haue all the thankes, and all the honour and glory of those fauours and rewards, whereof he is the owner and donor? Reseruing for himselfe, nothing but the scorne and contempt of his Subiects, then the which there is no miserie can be greater? God forbid that Kings should permit any such lessening of their power and authoritie, which is the necessariest thing that can bee, for the conseruation of their estates and kingdomes. Likewise in regard of their owne proper particular, it will be a very good lesson for them; for if their subiects are beholding for the good they receiue, vnto another, they will loue him more then them; and when occasion shall serue, will not sticke to shew it, though it bee to their owne hurt. Examples hereof, there are good store amongst those ancient Kings and kingdomes of elder times, that by this meanes haue beene ouerthrowne and brought to ruine. We finde it storied, that the Emperour *Claudius*, at the interceſſion and instance of *Agrippina*, made such a one Generall of his Army; *Cornelius Tacitus* toucheth vpon this Mysterie, and saith of him, that hee was a man of much fame and renowne, and very expert in militarie discipline; yet knowing very well withall, by whose good will and furtherance, that command was conferred vpon him, he could not (when occasion should offer) bee behinde hand for so great an honour done vnto him, but recompence it to the vtmost of his power. Such great places of imployment ought to be bestowed by no hand, but by Kings, and that immediately, lest another may go away with the thankes. And he

ſhall doe well, if hee take the like courſe in all other Offices that are in his gift; for (if it were poſſible) it is fit that all ſhould ſtand bound and obliged to him.

Let Kings likewiſe bee aduiſed, that they carry a watchfull eye ouer thoſe that are ambitious, which are either ſo naturally, or by conuerſing and communicating with others, are made ſo (for this is an infectious diſeaſe) and the more, the more it taketh hold on great perſons, and men of an extraordinary ſpirit; for they are as dangerous as theeues, where there is ſtore of treaſure to bee had. For queſtionleſſe ſuch kinde of men do vſually labour to increaſe their eſtate. For it is very naturall to this paſſion, as to thoſe other affections, neuer to giue ouer, till they come to the end and full ſatisfaction of that which their appetite or deſire repreſenteth vnto them: neither the Law of God, nor of thankfulneſſe, ſufficing to moderate their mindes, and to keepe them within the due and lawfull bounds of their dutie. In that houre, and in that very inſtant of their riſing, nay, before they come to that greatneſſe, there is little truſt to be giuen vnto them; for nothing workes vpon them, but their proper honour and profit. And all the reſt they eſteeme as nothing, in compariſon of bettring their owne fortune. But if of neceſſitie ſome muſt bee raiſed to honour; *Si quem extollere oporteat* (ſaith the Philoſopher) *non tamen eum, qui ſit moribus audax. Nam huiuſmodi homines aptiſſimi ſunt ad inuadendum circa res omnes:* Let them not be of baſe and meane condition, nor ſuch as are naturally proud and haughty, for being vainely tranſported with their fauour and priuacie, they thinke with themſelues, that they haue already clapt a nayle in fortunes wheele, and that they cannot fall from the top of their felicitie. And being thus blinded with their ambition, there is not any thing which they dare not aduenture on. Let Kings therefore well weigh and conſider with themſelues, what manner of men they put into great places, and neare about their perſons, that they may relye more on the goodneſſe of their

Arist. lib. 5. politic. c. 11.

their nature and diſpoſition, then on the Law of obligation and thankfulneſſe; for theſe are but weake bonds, and eaſily broken. And becauſe I know not whether I ſhall hereafter come to light vpon the like occaſion, I will here propoſe that Queſtion, which is diſputed and doubted of by ſome (and may likewiſe ſerue for an *Auiſo* vnto Kings) whether it be better that the great Lords ſhould be farre off from them, or neare about them? The Emperour *Charles* the fifth (of famous memory) amongſt other Aduertiſements which hee gaue to his ſonne *Philip*, one was, That he ſhould not let the great offices of the kingdome, nor places of great command reſt any long time in one mans hands, nor ſhould put his *Grandes* and great Lords into them, but Gentlemen of good qualitie, ſuch as were creatures of his owne making. And as for his *Grandes*, hee ſhould honour them with ſome places and offices neare about his perſon, which would be a greater grace both to himſelfe and his Court.

Others are of a quite contrary opinion, and alledge reaſons for the maintenance thereof. Great men (they ſay) if they be not like thoſe little ones, which Chriſt ſpeaketh of, are ordinarily of an extraordinary ſpirit, and endeauour, all they can, increaſe of honour, till they come to occupie the higheſt place. And then will it bee ſeene, of what little eſteeme are thoſe great fauours which they haue already receiued. There is not that friendſhip, that kindred, nor any other bond, be it neuer ſo ſtrong, which is not broken, through the greedy ambition of aſcending to ſome higher throne. For to bee a King (ſaith *Euripides*) all Law is broken. For this Appetite is of that force and ſtrength, that it breaketh all Lawes, both Diuine and Humane. For proofe whereof, they cite many examples, which I purpoſely omit, that I may not offend, and tire out the Reader. All of them admoniſhing Kings, that they ſhould throughly weigh and conſider where, and in what places they put them. For if they be neare about their royall perſon, it is the torment of *Tantalus* vnto them, to ſee the

the water and the fruit ſo neare their mouth (that greatneſſe and power I meane) and not to enioy it, Which will but prouoke a more hungry appetite in thoſe which doe not poſſeſſe it, and will breake through hedge and ditch, and runne (as they ſay) through fire and water tranſported with this ſo faire and beautifull a prize, as is ſet before their eyes; neuer being at quiet till they come to enioy it. For there is not that loue to any thing here vpon earth, which doth ſo much alter, ſuſpend, and ſeaze on the minde and h art of man, as that of ruling and commanding, and to grow great therein. And when they ſee things ſucceed not according to their minde, yet at leaſt in ſatisfaction of their enuie, they will be well content that the waters ſhould be troubled, and the world be turned topſie-turuy, taking pleaſure therein, though it be to their owne hurt. And what King can ſecure himſelfe, that ſuch ambitious perſons, being neare about him, will not at one time or other attempt their ends. For greatneſſe (ſay they) after that it is once poſſeſſed, quits the memory of the meanes, whereby it came to bee ſo great, and findes a thouſand excuſes for it's weakneſſe in offending. And the rather, for that ill vſe hath taught all men this leſſon; That the reputation of an honeſt man is not to be preferred before his proper profit and greatneſſe. Laſtly, they ſay, That he that ouercommeth, and makes good his clayme by his ſword, needeth not to ſtudy excuſes, and to make Apologies; let thoſe doe that, that haue the worſt end of the ſtaffe, and ſtand at the mercy of the Conquerour. In concluſion, they reſolue this queſtion thus; That it is very fit that your great Noble-men ſhould rather liue farre from Court, then neare about their King. For all of them will be of good vſe, for the gouernment of Prouinces and Armies, whereby both the one and the other will be ſecured. And when they cannot content them in all that they would haue, they may entertaine them with theſe, which will be a good meanes to diuert their thoughts, and to bridle thoſe Prouinces that are committed to their charge,

charge, with whom the Maieſtie and greatneſſe of their Gouernours will be able to doe much. And there they are not of that danger. For in kingdomes by ſucceſſion, and well ſetled, and where there is no colour of wreſting the Scepter out of the bloud-royall, there is no feare of truſting the *Grandes*, and great Noblemen with theſe kinde of Gouernments, but it is rather requiſite that it ſhould be ſo. For, like vnto ſtarres in heauen, and their influences on earth, they ſerue for ornament and conuerſation in thoſe kingdomes and Prouinces, wherein there are ancient and noble Houſes, for which they are to ſeeke out men of Noble bloud, and good qualitie, and of knowne greatneſſe, to bee conuerſant amongſt them. For the Nobilitie of thoſe kingdomes and Prouinces will thinke themſelues not well dealt withall, if they ſhall haue but an ordinary man ſet ouer them to be their Gouernour, be he neuer ſo wiſe, or neuer ſo valiant. For being that they are to attend all at the gates of him that holdeth that place, they may eſteeme it as an iniurie to ſee themſelues obliged, to acknowledge homage vnto him, whom out of that place they would ſcarce vouchſafe him their companie. Beſides, that greatneſſe and largeneſſe of minde and heart, that knowes not how to ſhrinke, or be deiected with aduerſe fortune (a thing ſo neceſſary in him that gouernes) will ſooner bee found in theſe, then men of meaner ranke. For (as Saint *Ierome* ſaith) hee that owes much to his bloud and familie, will alwayes beare that obligation about him, and neuer faile therein. Againe, he that is borne to command, will be leſſe inſolent in his gouernment, as hauing that noble qualitie from his cradle; And the people on the other ſide will more willingly obey him, whom they haue alwayes knowne to haue liued in honour and greatneſſe: And his example will bee of greater importance, to reforme the diſorders and abuſes that ſhall there be offered.

Ouer and aboue, they further adde, That your *Grandes* and great Noblemen, may, and haue obligation to content them.

themselues with their present estate, if they will but weigh the difference of that it was, with that which it is now, did not men that are now in honour grow forgetfull of their former meane condition. That grieuing them more, which falls short of their desire, then that doth please and content them, which fortune hath with so liberall a hand bestowed on them. For no man rests contented with his present estate and condition; nor doe we esteeme that so much which wee possesse, as the lacke of that we desire, doth torment vs. And therefore doe they say, that they are not so good to be about Kings, and more particularly those which are so qualified; for they are like a lingring kinde of Calenture, or aguish Feuer, which makes an end of vs before we are aware of it, working it's effect, before wee can looke into the cause. Or like vnto the hand in a Clocke, or Dyall, which tells out the houre, and strikes, without perceiuing how it moues or goes. Or like vnto those plants of your tallest trees, which grow to their full height, whilest neither our eyes, nor our vnderstanding can scarce comprehend, how this comes to passe, so insensibly doth it sproute and shoot vp. This is the question, and these, in briefe, the conueniences, which (for mine owne part) I know not what they are, vnlesse such conueniences as are proper to euery one in their owne estate. But be it as it may be, and let them say what they list, let Kings resolue by the illumination of that light which they haue from heauen, on that which shall be best for them. That which I say, is this, That it will well become them to liue with a great deale of warinesse and circumspection, and not to trust or relye too much vpon fortune. For this Lady, howbeit sometimes shee suffers her selfe to bee commanded by them, yet now and then she ouerrules them, as she doth the rest. And therefore it shall bee good discretion and prudence, to feare both her, and her frequent mutabilities and changings, as it behoueth euery man to doe the like. For she, without any respect or distinction of persons, will oftentimes lash out from

from that way and course wherein she is, and runne a quite contrary bias, and commit the current of those effects to time and Nature.

Let Kings likewise take heed, that they doe not put offended persons into such places, where they may reuenge themselues; For a receiued wrong or iniurie leaues still some roots behinde, which, when occasion is offered, will bud forth most bitter and venemous plants. Nor are there any rewards, or benefits, be they neuer so great, that can blot out the print of that impression, which an iniurie stampeth in the minde and heart of man. Courtesies are soone forgotten by them; for it seemeth a troublesome thing vnto them, to endure the weight and burthen of so great a debt and obligation; but a receiued wrong or iniurie, that shall euer be remembred, because they hold reuenge to be the character of courage, and the badge of a noble minde and braue spirit. *Puluere, qui laedit, scribit, sed marmore laesus*: He that does a wrong, writes it downe in dust; but he that receiues it, in marble. *Tacitus* teacheth vs to know this minde of man, and it's passions; telling vs that the greatest and strongest inclination in man, is to receiue satisfaction of the iniuries done vnto them, for thankfulnesse lyes as a heauy loade vpon them; whereas they make light of those benefits they receiue. Esteeming the latter to be a diminution of their greatnesse; and the former, to wit, reuenge, to bee a great gaine vnto them; for they imagine, that they gaine thereby in their authoritie, in their reputation, and in the manifestation of their valour, when the world shall take notice that they haue righted themselues. Such as these can neither bee good as they are Fauourites, nor as they are Councellers. For out of the desire and pleasure they take in reuenge, they will rather aduise that which shall seeme conuenient for the execution thereof, then for the authoritie and profit of the Prince, whom they aduise. They will aduise him (I say) to venture himselfe vpon some voyage, to enter into a warre, to go himselfe into the field with a royall army,

or

or to vndergo some dangerous enterprise, for the better effecting of their designes, plotting a thousand mischiefes to bring him vnto ruine. And let them say what they will, yet shall they neuer perswade me, that this proceeds out of the loue which they beare vnto their King, and his increase of honour, but out of hatred to his person, & their owne proper satisfaction, thinking that by that meanes they may worke their reuenge. And hereunto I adde, that no man can bee found of so perfect a minde, of so temperate a nature, and so vertuous, but that in the first place he will treate of his owne businesse; and that treating of this particular, the eye of his thought still ayming to hit this white, will not sticke to aduenture any danger in hope of reuenge. And therefore I shall aduise Kings, that of necessitie must sometimes giue eare and credit to these or the like persons, if they chance to bee preferred to great places, that they be very carefull how farre forth they trust them, for they are a dangerous kinde of people, vnsafe, and more couetous of their owne priuate interest, then carefull of the publike perill, or common hurt. For this loue vnto themselues, and hatred vnto others, couered and strewed ouer with the cloud and ashes of iniuries and offences, either receiued or conceiued, doth reuiue and quicken the coales by those blasts of fauour and greatnesse that are blowne on them; procuring (though to others cost) to vphold themselues therein, and to ingage Kings in that which they pretend for their reuenge and satisfaction. God shield and protect Kings from such persons, as shall with the snake take vp their poyson againe, to vent the venome of their rancour and reuenge vpon an old quarrell; and let them likewise take heed, how they imploy their forces, and their power, in countenancing and protecting those whom they haue offended and discontented.

This (saith the said Emperour *Charles* the fifth) is an aduice of great importance, for the safetie, quietude, and good gouernment of kingdomes, States, and Signiories; which for

for that they are ſo many, ſo great, and ſo farre diſtant one from another, it is impoſſible that they ſhould be viſited by your ſelfe in perſon, ſo often as is requiſite: And therefore I aduiſe you, that you haue a great care that your Viceroyes and Gouernours that ſhall be ſent thither, be ſuch, and of ſuch parts, as ſhall conuene for ſuch an imployment, men of experience, and conſcience, of wiſedome, prudence, and diſcretion, and well ſeene in matters of State and Gouernment: Well diſpoſed, and free from couetouſneſſe, briberie, and corruption; ſeeking out rather men for Offices, then Offices for men: Laſtly, let them be ſuch perſons, from whom you may receiue that good ſatisfaction, that by their reſidence there may bee found no miſſe of their Kings preſence; For this is properly to bee Vice-royes. Moreouer, you muſt inſtruct them in that which appertaineth vnto them, for the good gouernment of the Commonwealth, and thoſe Subiects which are committed to their charge, maintaining them in equall iuſtice, and good manners, giuing them good example by their owne blameleſſe conuerſation. There is nothing that doth ſo much oblige Vaſſals and Subiects to keepe the Statutes and Lawes which are ordained, as to ſee them well kept and obſerued by their betters; And ſo it is, that it is vniuſtly commanded, which hee that commands keepes not himſelfe, if that which is commanded be good. And being good, why ſhould it not be good for him to keepe it, that commands it? For (as *Baldus* ſaith) though the King be not lyable to the Law, yet is hee lyable to the rules of reaſon. This pious Emperour goes on, and willeth his ſonne, that he ſhould ſtrictly recommend to his Vice-roys charge, the protecting, ſheltring, and relieuing of the poore, the defending of the fatherleſſe and widow, and thoſe that are deſtitute of friends, and haue none to helpe them. Whom ſome, that are in place and authoritie, are wont (and I feare is too ordinary amongſt them) to diſfauour and diſeſteeme them, making little or no reckoning at all of them. Being ignorant how vile

Bal. in l. 2 c. 8. Num. 4. C. de Struc.

and

and base a thing it is, and how heroycall the contrary, and how much in imitation of God, to put forth a charitable and pitifull hand to him that is brought low, and fallen into miserie, assisting him in his afflictions and troubles, freeing him from wrongs and iniuries, whose shield and buckler, he that gouernes, ought to be. And he closes vp this aduertisement with wishing him to be very carefull, that his Viceroys and Gouernours exercise their offices as they ought, and not to exceed the instructions that are giuen them, nor to vsurpe beyond their authoritie, giuing them this *prouiso*, that in doing the contrary, he shall thinke that he is ill serued by them, and that hee giue order to haue it remedied and amended, by his displeasure, and their punishment. And howbeit it be true, that he ought not to giue credit to all the complaints which are made against such his Ministers (which are seldome wanting) yet in no hand that he should refuse to heare them, and vnderstand them, in forming himselfe fully of the truth. For the not doing of it, will but minister occasion vnto them, to be more absolute, and to the Subiects to grow desperate, seeing themselues oppressed by iniustice and vnconscionable dealing.

Likewise when Kings send an Embassadour to another Prince, they must looke well into the qualitie of the person whom they send. For in such an Embassage he doth not onely treate of the businesses for which hee goes, but likewise of the honour and authoritie of the King, which sends him. And therefore it is necessary that the persons that are nominated and declared to go on Embassage, haue many of those qualities, which we haue mentioned in Vice-roys and Councellours of State. For if they shall not fill that place with the greatnesse of their good abilities, it will be a great lessening to the credit and reputation of the King, and the businesses will receiue much hinderance, if not vtterly bee ouerthrowne. The Romanes did make a mocke of the Teutones, counting them no better then fooles, for sending an Embassadour vn-

to

to them that was a block-head, and of little or no experience.

Kings and great Princes, all that, from which glory and greatneſſe reſulteth vnto them, they ought to doe it without any the leaſt ſhew of vanitie, accompanying it with ſuch circumſtances and conſequencies, that it may ſeeme onely to bee done for the common good, the exaltation of the Commonwealth, and the reputation of their Crowne. In all times and places they muſt repreſent much authoritie, grauitie, and Maieſtie in their perſons, and in their Treaties, mixing it with affabilitie and courteſie. To the end, that by the one they may cauſe feare and reſpect, and by the other quit and remoue that feare. It is reported of *Octauian* the Emperour, that all the Embaſſadours that appeared in his preſence, ſtood aſtoniſhed betwixt feare and admiration; but no ſooner ſpake he vnto them, but they were wonderfully taken with his words, and did not then ſo much feare, as affect him. For albeit the Maieſtie wherewith hee receiued them, was exceeding great, yet was his carriage towards them very affable, and very courteous. In theſe two vertues, did excell that Catholicke King of Spaine, *Don Philip* the ſecond, whom for the repreſenting of Maieſtie, and regall authoritie, none did excell, and few equall. And in the carriage and compoſition of his perſon, there was no defect to bee found. Vpon any accident that befell him, were it good or bad, fortunate or vnfortunate, there was neuer any man that could perceiue in him ſo much as a diſcompoſed countenance, or any other the leaſt alteration. And hee may be truly ſaid to be a man, who is not proud in proſperitie, nor impatient in aduerſitie. For it is a great ſigne of Nobleneſſe, and the vndoubted marke of a royall minde, and Princely courage, not to looſe himſelfe in his aduerſer fortunes, but to ſhew himſelfe conſtant againſt fortune, and to raiſe vp his ſpirits, as this King did, being neuer deiected with any outward Croſſe or miſfortune, tha befell him. He did neuer (being therein like vn-

to *Xenophons Cyrus*) ſhew an ill countenance, or ſpeake an ill word vnto any man. Hee was not ſo affable and familiar with his Fauourites, that any of them all durſt preſume to petition him in any thing that was vniuſt; nor yet ſo auſtere and ſeuere towards others as to make them to forbeare to preferre a iuſt ſuite vnto him. To his owne Subiects he was kinde, to ſtrangers noble; but withall, reſeruing ſtill his authoritie and greatneſſe. For Kings ought not to bee ſo harſh and intractable, as to make themſelues to bee abhorred; nor ſo kinde and courteous, as to cauſe themſelues to be contemned. Indeauouring all they can, not to fall into the extreames, by ſhewing too much loue to ſome, and little or none at all to other ſome. For too much ſeueritie ingendreth hatred, and too much familiaritie breedeth contempt. Let them generally beare themſelues in that reſpectiue manner towards all, that they honour the better, loue the meaner ſort, and deſpiſe not the reſt; but as farre as they are able, extend their grace and fauour vnto all. For that being but little, which they haue to giue, in compariſon of the many that are ſutors, and the great rewards which they pretend, they reſt better ſatisfied with thoſe good words, and mannerly anſwers, that are giuen them, then with thoſe fauours that are done them. For the generous hearts, modeſt countenances, and ingenious diſpoſitions of thoſe noble ſpirits which follow Princes Courts, much more riſent the diſfauour that is done them in receiuing courteſies with diſgrace, then if they were denyed them. And therefore it is good wholeſome counſell, and much importing Kings, to returne a faire and equall anſwer vnto all, according to each mans qualitie and merit, and that they carry the ſame euen hand in the conferring of their fauours, and in the manifeſtation of their loue. And if they ſhall in a more particular manner, expreſſe the ſame to ſome one particular perſon, let him likewiſe more particularly deſerue it. For neuer ſhall that loue be ſtedfaſt, where deſerts are wanting in the partie beloued.

I ſhall likewiſe aduertiſe Kings, that they doe not make ſuch vſe of this their great both office and power, as to aſſume vnto themſelues to be abſolute, and to cumply in all things with their affections and deſires, nor to exerciſe any other perſonall paſſion. For the vſe and cuſtome of abſolute power is dangerous for Kings, odious to the ſubiect, and offenſiue both to God and Nature. And for that the laſt Kings of the Romanes vſed this power, the name of King grew ſo hatefull, that thoſe that afterwards ſucceeded in the Romane gouernment, durſt not take vpon them the name of Kings, but that of Emperours. Which is by ſo much the more abſolute, by how much *Imperare* doth differ from *Regere*. Yet notwithſtanding the people of Rome did not ſo much feare this name of Emperour, as that of King, becauſe thoſe, that laſt bore that name, exerciſed on them this their abſolute power. So that it is not the name, nor the office, but the ill vſing thereof that makes it odious. For it is neither the Title, nor the Man, that moueth or altereth the honeſt meaning minde of the plaine downe right ſubiect, but deeds and actions, that are done contrary to all right and reaſon. Whereas on the contrary, good vſage, and good treatment keepes them in loue and peace, and drawes them after him as it were in a ſtring, and to offer vp for his ſake a voluntary ſacrifice of their liues. Let Kings conſider that the Crowne ſpeakes as much, which they weare on their heads in forme of a Spherical round figure, which ſignifies *limitem*, or *terminum*, a limit or bound, or rather that Circle, out of which it is not lawfull for them to go, no not one ſteppe. The Crownes (I ſay) that they weare, are Circles and Limits, ſeruing to put them in minde, that their power is limited and meaſured out vnto them, that they may not paſſe the bounds of reaſon, nor doe any thing, but what is iuſt and lawfull. Let the great Kings and Potentates of the earth moderate themſelues, and refraine from making themſelues Gods, by exerciſing this their abſolute power; let them acknowledge ouer them a

God, as well on earth, as in heauen. That hee may not grow wearie of their Monarchies and their gouernments, as he did of that of the ancient Romanes, and vtterly ouerthrow them, prouoked and incited thereunto by the abuſe of humane power. For (as *Seneca* ſaith) *Quod non poteſt, vuli poſſe, qui nimium poteſt.* But the God of heauen is very nice and tender in admitting companions in any kinde of manner whatſoeuer, but much more daintie in matter of iuriſdiction and abſolute power, puniſhing the ſame with grieuous chaſtiſements, and many demonſtrations of his fearefull anger and diſpleaſure. *Ariſtotle* ſaith, that through the gouernment of thoſe that are too abſolute in their rule and command, the gouernment is changed, kingdomes altered, and petty Princes riſe vp againſt them, who in ſuch ſort abate and bring downe their pride, that they come to ſerue thoſe, whom before they did command. *Tully* tearmes them, of all other, the moſt miſerable, which make their will a Law, and thinke that they may doe all that they can. *Nero* did then leaue off to be cruell, when he vnderſtood that he was permitted to doe what hee liſted; and that many did approue all his actions for good. It is the ancient language of adulation, to ſpeake abſolute power vnto Princes, and to perſwade them to follow their owne free will. But this is a very dangerous thing, if they once giue way thereunto, and let ſuch flatteries dwell in their eares; for the reſolutions of ſuch a power, will not ſuffer themſelues to be ſo ſubiect, as they ought, to the iudgement of reaſon, nor humane diſcourſe. In ſuch a caſe, a power from heauen is more needfull. And this errour is now come to be in ſuch requeſt, that to agree in all things with the will and pleaſure of Kings; is now made in the minds of ſome, not onely a meanes of hope, but eſteemed as a great ſeruice, and pledge of merit, to receiue honours and rewards. But this deceitfull meanes, whereby they thinke to thriue, ſhall (when God ſhall ſee it fit) be the onely knife to cut their throates; for ſuch kinde of men neuer eſcape puniſhment, and moſt commonly receiue it

Sene Treged. 4.

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from their Kings owne hand. In ſtrange and extraordinary caſes, and vpon iuſt occaſions, and iuſtifiable meanes, Kings may ſomewhat inlarge the limits of their power, ſo as they doe not go beyond that which reaſon and Chriſtian prudence permitteth. *Plato* ſaith, that Prudence and power are to embrace each other, and to walke hand in hand. Qualities which ought to concurre in a good King, ſignified in that Scepter with eyes, which *Ieremy* ſaw, power being in the one, and wiſdome in the other. And in that other old ancient portraiture of a good King, being a Lion placed on the top of *Mercuries* Mace, which is a Scepter with two Snakes twining about it; This, ſignifying prudence, and wiſedome, and that fortitude; which ſhould neuer be ſeparated from a King. By his power, he is feared, reſpected, and obeyed; he commands, prohibites, and executes. By his wiſedome, he auerreth the truth of his actions, and doth nothing, but what is lawfull. Wiſedome tempereth power; and both together vphold the world. But if power forſake the fellowſhip of wiſedome, it growes to be abſolute, and runnes into a thouſand indiſcretions, and commits as many wrongs and iniuries, wherewith it deſolateth and deſtroyeth euen the greateſt States. For, there is not that ill, wherein power doth not exceed, if it haue not wiſedome for it's bridle. And for that a powerfull hand is ſo dangerous a thing, Nature hath ordained, and ſo ordered the buſineſſe, that the braine where wiſedome hath it's reſidence, ſhould bee placed ouer it. Which thoſe ancient Doctors amongſt the Gentiles did point at, when they placed *Minerua*, the Goddeſſe of wiſedome, vpon *Iupiters* head, who, of all the Gods, is the moſt powerfull. And therefore it was well ſaid of him, whoſoeuer hee were that ſaid, *Que vale mas ſaber, que auer, y poder*: Wealth and power are not comparable to wiſedome. Which ſaying is confirmed by the holy Ghoſt, *Melior eſt ſapientia, quam vires. Et diuitias, nihil eſſe duxi in comparatione illius.* Wiſedome is better then ſtrength. I ſet more by her, then by king- Wiſ. 6. 1. & 7. 8.

domes, and royall ſeates, and count riches nothing in compariſon of her. The aduantage whereof, is ſignified in that Hierogliffe of the Cocke, who with his crowing, makes the Lion to flie. As Saint *Ambroſe*, and *Ælian* haue well obſerued. And that wiſe and iuſt man *Iob*, doth much commend him for his knowledge and vnderſtanding. And Saint *Gregory* declareth, that by him, is to bee vnderſtood a wiſe, and prudent man, who taketh hold on a fit and conuenient time for buſineſſes, and not onely aduiſeth of, but preuenteth all dangers, and whatſoeuer hurt may befall.

Ambr. 6. Exam. 2. 6. 4.
Ælian. lib. 6. c. 21. de Animalibus.
Iob 38. 36.
Greg. 3. Moral. 6. 4.

The particular and generall experience which we haue of Hiſtories, teacheth vs, how much it importeth for the conſeruation and augmentation of a great Empire and Monarchie, that he, that is Lord and Maſter thereof (if it lye diuided through diuers parts of the world, by ſeas, and enemies, in the midſt thereof) ſhould ſtriue and indeauour by all poſſible meanes to make himſelfe likewiſe Lord and Maſter of the ſea: for thereby ſhall he come to bee Lord and Maſter of the Land. And an abſolute diſpenſer of thoſe things, wherewith we ſuſtaine our ſelues, and liue. For by the helpe of Nauigation, we paſſe from one part to another, and communicate of what they haue by way of commerce or otherwiſe: And by this meanes is made of many Prouinces and kingdomes, yea, euen of the whole world, one ſole Citie and commonwealth. This was the counſell of *Themiſtocles*, and *Plutarch* makes it good, ſaying, Let no man deceiue himſelfe, in imagining with himſelfe, that Armies will ſuffice for to conſerue himſelfe, and to make himſelfe Lord of thoſe kingdomes and Prouinces, that haue the Sea to friend. For if he be not likewiſe prouided, and well furniſhed with a ſtrong fleete at Sea, howbeit hee may with a Land-armie ouercome the naturalls of thoſe kingdomes or Prouinces; yet it is impoſſible for him, without the other, to make an intire conqueſt, and to go through with that which hee pretendeth. That diſpoſeth the Land to his will, and giueth Lawes thereunto.

unto. The *Carthaginians* (ſaith *Polibius*) were not ignorant of what great conſequence this was, for all kinde of buſineſſes, and therefore aduiſeth, That that which a Prince ought to procure, whereby to come to be a great Monarch, is, by a ſtrong Nauy, to make himſelfe Lord of the Sea. For there are not any forces that worke ſuch ſtrange and great effects, or ſo much import, as theſe. And all your Ancients held it for a *Maxime*, that without the command at Sea, there was nothing ſafe or ſecure on the Land. *Archidamus* a great Captaine, and King of the *Lacedemonians*, was wont to ſay; That thoſe that are to deale with a ſtrong enemie, being powerfull at ſea, need not to put themſelues vpon the ficklenesſe of fortune, but to place all their care in maintaining their Nauie; for with this alone, will they be able to wearie out the enemie, to quit him of the ſuccour of their friends, to debarre him of Nauigation, and of the commodities thereof, and vtterly by this to vndoe him. And (which may ſeeme a thing impoſſible) be able to beleaguer and girt in a whole kingdome, and to take it (forcing it by famine and other wants) as if it were onely one ſingle Citie that were beſieged. For that (as *Tacitus* ſaith) a ſtrong fleete at ſea, is the Caſtle and Magaſine of victualls. And therefore the Empire and Signiorie of the Sea, by a powerfull and commanding Nauy, is held to bee of much more power and ſafetie, then your Land-armies or Citie-gariſons, which of force muſt in the end yeeld vnto him, which ſhall become Maſter of their ports, and thereby hinder them of all commerce and traffique, and humane communicat on:

And this was the aduice which that great Monarch and Emperour *Charles* the fifth gaue likewiſe vnto his ſonne, to whom hee left ſo many and ſuch great kingdomes, ſo farre diſtant and diuided one from another, with ſuch large and deepe ſeas. Hee (ſaith he) that is or will bee Maſter of them, muſt haue his fleetes ſtill in a readineſſe, well fitted and furniſhed, as well with good tall ſhips, well rigg'd and mann'd,

and all other neceſſary prouiſion, as with ſtore of Gallies, for the ſafeguard and defence of his ſubiects, as alſo to reſiſt and offend *Turkes*, *Moores*, and Pyrats, becauſe he cannot repoſe any confidence or aſſurance in thoſe Leagues and Truces which he ſhall make with them. With this ſhall hee keepe them all in awe, when they ſhall ſee his great forces at Sea, by which he may (as it were in an inſtant) from all parts ſend ſuccours and reliefe, and whatſoeuer elſe ſhall bee needfull. And it will bee no leſſe then a hard rayne, and cruell ſtrong curbe, for to bridle and reſtraine the ſiniſter intents and vaine pretenſions of ſuch as ſhall plot ſtrange proiects, dangerous deſignes, and ſcandalous attempts. And vtterly to diſcourage them from vndergoing any enterpriſe, or to vndertake any action of aduenture, with hope of recouering ſuch Townes or Prouinces as they haue loſt, or by landing of their men to encroach vpon new. And ſay they ſhould ſerue for no other vſe, ſaue to hinder the excurſions of Pyrats, and Sea-rouers, in theſe our ſeas, onely in regard of that, it could not chooſe but bee a matter of mighty conſequence, and of wonderfull great importance, conſidering the daily incurſions, loſſes, ſlaughters, the continuall captiuatings, and robberies, which they vſually commit vpon theſe our Coaſts; ſo that if there were not a fitting preparation, and ſufficient defence of ſhips and Gallies, it were impoſſible for vs to occurre againſt thoſe neceſſities, and to bee prouided againſt thoſe new and ſtrange accidents which may offer themſelues in thoſe Eſtates, kingdomes, and Signiories, Seas, Coaſts, frontiers, ports, promontories, Caſtles, and forts, which we hold in them. Which by this our continuall nauigation, and prouiſion of good ſhipping, are well man'd and victualled, and ſufficiently prouided of armes, munition, and whatſoeuer elſe is neceſſarie, in fit and conuenient both time and manner againſt all occaſions. Whereby the enemie perceiuing how well they are prouided for them, dare not approach thoſe places, nor touch vpon them. Beſides this eaſie

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and ſhort aduice, there are many other cauſes that may moue vs not to be wanting herein. In a word, it will put the enemy into a continuall care, and driue him to take a different reſolution in thoſe his ill-grounded motiues and pretenſions: And howbeit it be true, that the charge is great, ſo likewiſe great loſſes are thereby excuſed, and ſome ſuch ſometimes as can neuer bee repaired. So that, there is no paſſing to and fro without nauigation, and the vſing and maintaining of theſe fleetes.

They are the words of that victorious Emperour, which no King for want of experience ſhould diſ-eſteeme.

And for the better and fuller prouiſion in this kinde, it is very fit that theſe Fleetes ſhould haue their particular rent appropriated vnto them, and that it ſhould not, vpon no occaſion whatſoeuer, be ſpent or laid-out in any other thing. For a ſet and deputed treaſure for this purpoſe, or the like, is that which moſt importeth for the good diſpatch of buſineſſes, and that they may bee done in their due time, and with leſſe charge, and more profit. This courſe did the Grecians take; and after them, the Romanes. And of *Auguſtus Cæſar*, both *Suetonius* and *Dyon* report, that he was the firſt inuenter of a perpetuall militarie treaſure, raiſed out of a certaine kind of Tributes, which out of his owne curioſitie he had ſought and found out. For Souldiers and warlike prouiſions, in your great Empires, require a particular treaſure, wherewith to be payed; which muſt not in any hand be otherwiſe imployed, nor go intermixed with thoſe other expences. Hauing perſons of much experience and honeſtie, appointed for the good managing and ordering of it, vſing their beſt care and helpe, that it may bee preſerued and continued, and that it may not be exhauſted, and drawne dry. And more particularly Kings themſelues, the *Grandes* and Peeres of the kingdome, as alſo the commonwealths, and your Cities, ſhould carefully looke hereunto. Being that they do moſt participate of the profits which iſſue from a warre. And moſt certaine it

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is, that nothing is more necessarie in a Monarchie, then this particular treasure, or that causeth more respect in our friends, or feare in our enemies. Or that with more commoditie and conueniencie, puts in execution all plots and proiects, in this, or that other enterprise, of what qualitie or condition soeuer they bee. And to this aduice I shall adde that which followeth.

All wise and prudent Princes in Empires, that are runne out to waste, and decrease of wealth, haue euermore held it for the onely remedie of their reparation and conseruation, to excuse vnnecessarie expences; And that their Ministers take this businesse into consultation, and to cast vp all accounts, and to see what the Kinge rents and in-comes are for the defraying of the charge he is at, and by comparing one with the other, and seeing how they will answer each other, if they finde the expence to exceed the In-come, to cast about which way it may be best spared; and to husband the businesse so, that there may be some ouerplus still remaining for the publike treasurie. For if by disorder & ill gouernment, the Kings coffers shall come to be emptie, it will bee (if not impossible) at least very hard to fill them againe. For if there be daily more spent, then is to be, or can be had, that stocke will in a short time decay and come to nothing; as wee see it fareth in euery other humane subiect, that hath not fresh supply. Which lauish and vnproportionable spending, not liuing according to the rate of their rents, hath been the vndoing of many particular houses & families, as also the impouerishing and ouerthrowing of Empires & kingdomes. And therefore to auoide this inconuenience, was that booke of Accounts, or Memoriall made, which the Ancient called *Breuiarium Imperij*, a briefe abridgement of the Empire, which *Augustus Cæsar* left to his successours; written with his owne hand: wherein was particularly set downe in a true and iust account, the full number of all the kingdomes and Prouinces of the whole Romane Empire; As likewise the number of

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all the Citizens and Souldiers which were in euery one of them, together with their forces and ſtrength, and to what quantitie came all the rents and tributes that hee had, what aide-money and other helpes hee receiued from his Confederates, and the whole charge he was at. As alſo his Councels ordained by him, either for the inlarging or ſhortning of his hand in theſe his expences. So that hauing ſtill before his eyes the wealth and ſubſtance of his Empire, he might alwayes ſee how the world went, and how to make his beſt benefit thereof, for the conſeruing and vpholding of his Empire. Such a Regiſter or rent-roll as this, much importeth Kings. It is ſaid of that wiſe and prudent King, *Don Philip* the ſecond, that in his time he had ſuch another as was this; And the like ought all Kings to haue, and at all times, but more eſpecially when their power is leſſened, their rents diminiſhed, their forces waſted, and thoſe of their enemies augmented. For we ſee the like care to bee taken in particular houſes, and therefore ought much more to bee looked into in Monarchies, which are compoſed of all thoſe houſes and families; amongſt which, that which ſpends beyond it's meanes, conſumes it ſelfe: For ſuppoſing ſuch a one hath an 100. V. Ducats of rent, or ſet reuenue, and that euery yeare ten thouſand more is ſpent, then the rent comes to, in a few yeares all will come to nothing, and by running ſtill on in debt, and taking no courſe to come out of it, by liuing ſtill at the ſame height, he muſt bee inforced in the end to ſell and deliuer ouer the luſter, maieſtie, and greatneſſe of his houſe to other families, which were before little better then duſt taken out of the dunghill. And moſt certaine it is, that they that will not caſt vp their accounts, and looke throughly into their eſtates, and ſee in what ſtate they are, muſt bee either men that are willing to vndoe themſelues, and their whole poſteritie; and muſt bee either Atheiſts, or almoſt as bad (if not worſe) meere Epicures; who carry in their mouths, and in their hearts thoſe words of your vnthriftie gallants: *Comedamus*

mus & bibamus, cras enim moriemur: Let vs eate and drinke, for to morrow we ſhall dye. Your Atheiſts, they propoſe an end vnto themſelues, thinking by this their prodigalitie to procure vnto themſelues an immortalitie of fame; But theſe and the like, who ſo inconſiderately runne out of all, are careleſſe and negligent euen of this, taking care onely to eate, and to drinke, and to feaſt one another, without ſo much as thinking that there is another world, or any honour, or fame in this: And ſpending their whole life in belly-cheare, and bezeling, they are neuer ſatisfied, but call in ſtill for more, till their crawes be ready to cracke. And notwithſtanding the exceſſiue rents, which ſome Kings haue, and the great ſtore of treaſure that comes to their coffers, beſides the Tributes, Taxes, Impoſts, and Subſedies that are duely payed them, they are neuer out of debt, the Crowne-land lying impawned for the payment thereof, and that for no ſmall ſummes of money. Ordinary expences are ill husbanded; extraordinary, worſe payed. The Cities, they are conſumed; Trading decayed; the Subiects out of breath and purſe, and by hauing too much impoſed vpon them, are growne (like ouer-laboured oxen) ſo poore, and ſo weake, that they are no longer able to beare ſo great a burthen. And yet all this to them (though the Subiect infinitely ſuffer) is no more then a drop of water throwne into the ſea, nor makes no more ſhew. Which ſea though it ſwallow vp all the fountaines of the earth, all the brookes, and all the great and principall riuers, and leſſer ſprings, and this daily and hourely, and at all times, yet we ſee the Sea is neuer a whit the more increaſed, nor growes greater one yeare then another. But what ſhould bee the cauſe of this, let your Naturaliſts, and your Kings, render ſuch reaſons as pleaſeth them, in their excuſe; for mine owne part, I am of opinion, that the Kings Exchequer is not well ordered, making him not onely a ſmall, but a bad account; That there is a great deale of diſorder in the laying out of thoſe monies, whereof much might bee ſaued, if there were

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some orderly course taken for the dispending of them, and imploying them for their Kings best aduantage. And I feare me, (which I could wish were causeleſſe) that a great part of this water which ſhould come directly to the Kings owne cisterne, passeth through broken pipes, that is, through the hands of euill Ministers, which soake and sucke vnto themselues a great part thereof, and no man the wiser, where the leake is, till it discouer it selfe. But it is now high time to grow to an end, and I will conclude this Aduertisement with that common Prouerbe, which speaketh thus; *Quien mucho abarca, poco aprieta:* The ouer-griping hand holds but little; suting with that of ours, All couet, all looſe. Or answering to that which that great Courtier and Fauourite *Mecenas* said, That great treasures and riches are both more and better heaped vp, and receiue a fairer accumulation, by spending little, then by scraping much.

Chap. XXXVIII.

Aduertisements for Fauourites and Councellers of State.

THe Aduertisements for Fauourites are these, the first, That they doe not *priuar* too much, who pretend their Kings fauour, and that they doe not beare themselues too high thereupon, nor suffer themselues to bee attended with a great traine of followers, thereby to make publike demonstration of their greatnesse. Boast not thy selfe too much, nor seeme thou ouer vaine, saith the holy Ghost to the Fauourite, *Ne glorioſus appareas coram Rege:* Put not forth thy selfe in the presence of the King. For there is neither that State, nor Prince, of that dull patience, that doth not in the end Prou. 25.

end grow iealous, and fearefull of the great power and authoritie of Fauourites, and more especially if they once begin to waxe insolent, and abuse this their greatnesse. For Kings are Companions, and fellow-seruants with vs in their affections, and naturall passions; nay (by their leaue bee it spoken) more subiect then we are vnto them; saue that they suppresse them more in outward shew, and make not that exteriour demonstration of them, in regard of that diuinitie, which they pretend, and represent. And all of them will be Masters of their entire will and absolute power. And that Fauourite is fouly deceiued, and in a strange kinde of errour, who in Court, by his secret plots, and close conueyance, pretendeth to possesse his Kings heart, if hee conceiue by this course to be the more secure. For very dangerous is that fauour and place, which is built vpon such a foundation; and very tickliſh the state of a Fauourite, when a King carries such respect vnto him. And the reason of this danger is drawne from mans nature it selfe (which cannot, but in Kings, be of farre greater force and strength) for there is not that man liuing, which doth not hate and abhorre subiection. And this is so certaine a truth, that I perswade my selfe, that I may truly giue this censure, and that I am no whit mistaken therein; that the reason, why Kings doe more willingly make and raise vp men vnto honour and greatnesse for their owne proper guste and appetite, then for seruices and deserts, is, for that in the former, they shew themselues to be powerfull, and to be owners of their owne cloath, which they may cut out to more, or lesse, as it pleaseth them; But to the second, they are debtors, a thing that is hatefull euen to the best nature and disposition. And Fauourites likewise on their part, are not to haue men, like swarmes of Bees, to hiue themselues in their portalls, and to hang about them in clusters, lest when that day shall come (as come it will) wherein they shall fall, the world take notice that it was his fauour, and not his person that they followed. There are few *Ephe-*

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ſtions, but many *Crateri*, in Court; many that will follow *Alexanders* fortune, but few his particular perſon.

Let Fauourites likewiſe receiue this aduice and counſell from the hand of the Euangeliſt Saint *Iohn*, which was one of the greateſt Courtiers and Fauourites, which the King of heauen had. The thing that I ſhall recommend to their conſideration, is this; That when *Iohn* fell downe to worſhip, before the feet of the Angell, which had opened great myſteries vnto him, and ſhowne him the things which were ſhortly to be fulfilled, the Angell ſaid vnto him, *Vide ne feceris, conſeruus enim tuus ſum, & fratrum tuorum*: See thou doe it not, for I am thy fellow ſeruant, and the fellow-ſeruant of thy brethren, &c. Let euery Fauourite apply this counſell to himſelfe, and make vſe thereof; ſo ſhall he be in grace with King and people, and when men ſhall go about as it were to adore him, and to make him a little God almighty, in doing him worſhip and honour, let him by no meanes giue way thereunto, but meekly acknowledge that he is but a creature, as they are, and preuent them with that anſwer of the Angell, *Vide ne feceris, conſeruus tuus ſum*: Doe not offer it, for I am your fellow-ſeruant. And great is that obligation which they haue, which are raiſed to great place, to know themſelues, and not to ſhew themſelues ſtrangers to thoſe that haue beene their aſſociates and companions in their meaner fortunes, and with whom they haue held priuate familiarity and friendſhip. And not to be like vnto *Pharaohs* Cup-bearer, who when he ſaw himſelfe in that fauour and priuacie, which his fellow-priſoner *Ioſeph* had foretold, and prognoſticated vnto him, neuer thought no more of it, but quite forgot both it and him, as if there had beene no ſuch matter, or man. It argues extreame lightneſſe, and a naughty nature, that a man ſhould hoyſe ſaile and be gone, when he hath a faire winde, and not take him along with him, that hath runne through all perills and dangers with him, and indured all brunts and ſtormes whatſoeuer. How ſhamefull a thing then Apoc. 22. 9.

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is it for them, who seeing themselues in prosperitie, turne away their face from him, who ranne along with them in their aduerser fortune. Especially considering they are not certaine, how long this calme will endure, and what a comfort it is in a storme, to haue a true friend to sticke close vnto him. For it is a vsuall thing, to see him lowermost to day, that yesterday stood vppermost in Fortunes wheele. And the Moone, when it is at full, fore-tells a wane; and therefore that which importeth them most, is, That they carry themselues in a gentile fashion towards all men, and that their dealing be plaine, and dis-interessed; whereby they shall not onely keepe their old friends, but gaine new, and may very well hope to be holpen by them, when they shall haue occasion to vse them. For they must thinke, that the skie will not alwayes bee cleare, clouds may arise, the Sunne withdraw his light (for Kings wills and affections, like other mens, are ambulatorie) and then in what a poore case is a Fauourite, if he be left, like a single proposition, alone to himselfe: He cannot (if he be wise) but make this account with himselfe, that the greatest power stirreth vp the greatest enuie; and if many combine against him (be he the greatest Fauourite that euer was, or can bee supposed) they will shrewdly put him to his trumpes, and if they be of as noble courage and wit, as they are nobly descended, they will heaue him out of the saddle, when he thinkes he sits surest. For concealed hatred is worse then open enmitie. And therefore let him gaine new friends, keepe his old, and not loose any one, of those he hath gotten. For being left single, and alone, he shall bee like vnto that white Crow in the Fable, whom the crowes would not come neare, because of his colour; nor the pigeons keepe him company, in regard of his greatnesse; so that all will flie from him, and in the time of his greatest need hee shall be left all alone. *Va soli*: Woe bee to him that is alone. And the holy Ghost seemeth to take pittie of him that is alone, for that if he fall, he hath no body to helpe him vp.

Let Fauourites likewise consider, that they are not, for that

that their King hath expreſt his affection vnto them, and profeſt himſelfe to bee their friend, to thinke, that (like a dogge in a ſlip) they may leade him whither and which way they liſt. For there are many things to be done, which hee is to doe without them. For (as *Cicero* ſaith) that friendſhip which admitteth not exception in ſome caſes, is not ſo much *Amicitia*, as *Coniuratio*, Amitie, as conſpiracie. It is obſerued by the learned Saint *Ambroſe*, That true friendſhip is grounded vpon that which is iuſt and honeſt; and is ſo limited, that if it breake thoſe bounds, it doth not onely looſe it's name, but affoords iuſt cauſe for a man to forgoe his friend. Friendſhip is to be held, but alwayes with this *prouiſo*, that the Lawes of Iuſtice and Charitie bee duely obſerued; and when ought, contrary thereunto, is pretended, it is no longer ſaid to bee friendſhip; though vowes and proteſtations haue paſt, for the better ſtrengthening and confirming of it. For if a King ſhall ſweare amiſſe, and contrary to the rules of charitie, he is not bound to cumply with his oath, nor is there any reaſon for it in the world, why hee ſhould in ſuch ſort make deliuery and reaſon of his heart to his Fauourite, and let him haue ſo much the hand of him, as to promiſe to ſticke vnto him, or to ſtand his friend in thoſe things that are vnlawfull and vniuſt. As thoſe Kings, *Aſſuerus* and *Tiberius* proceeded with *Haman* and *Seianus*; who, out of the fauour that they bore vnto them, gaue them leaue to reuenge themſelues of their enemies, and to execute all the tyrannies and cruelties which they could deuiſe or imagine, to ſatisfie their malice. A fault which deſerued rather (and afterwards drew on) their ſpeedier and greater fall. And well doth that Fauourite deſerue to be ruined, that ſhall preſume to pretend *hazer raga* (as they ſay) *con ſuamo*. To ſtand iuſt in the ſame ſtreake or line with his Maſter. For if God, who ſurpaſſeth *in* glory, and from whom it is impoſſible to take the leaſt atome thereof, and is able to turne all that he hath created into duſt, will not admit of a companion in matter of adoration and wor-

ſhip. How much more will Kings of the earth bee offended, and how ill muſt they take it, that any Subiect ſhould equall his ſhoulder, or ſhare with him in his greatneſſe, being his honour is ſo ſhortned, and his power ſo limited? For, if out of their loue to the perſon of the Fauourite, they beare with him for a while, either for to ſhew themſelues thankfull for his good ſeruices, or haply to make him the inſtrument to worke their reuenge on others. Yet theſe affections and prooſes (which I ſpeake of) being once paſſed ouer, there enters preſently in the place thereof, a naturall feare and iealouſie of their authority and greatneſſe; which doth much more ſway with them, then the loue and affection which they beare to the Fauourites perſon. Enuie likewiſe ſhe comes in, and playes her part (which is a neare neighbour, and ſtill ready at hand in Princes Courts and Pallaces) as if ſhe were Attorney generall of all thoſe great places, and ſomes forth her venome, ſecretly lying in waite, and watching her time to doe miſchiefe, ſtabbing ſuddenly, deaths wound being giuen before it be dream't on; and great is the hurt which this ſo neare a neighbour to the Kings elbow, doth; and out of an in-bred ſpleene) aymeth at nothing more, then the downfall of Fauourites. Complaints and grieuances, they alſo make their appearance in Court, being the maine witneſſes that Enuie and Paſſion bring into the Court, to make good their plea. Next after theſe, comes in the reſpect (not to ſay the feare) of thoſe that are diſcontented in all ſtates; for no King will be willing, that their Subiects vpon this ground ſhould build their rebellion, and cauſe an alteration in the kingdome; and will be as loath to bee ball'd on, by grieued and diſcontented perſons, vpon iuſtly pretended complaints; nor will he be ſo vnwiſe (for feare of other claps) to fauour one, to offend many. All of them being ſhrewd blowes, for to allay, if not quell the courage of the moſt paſſionate King towards his deareſt Fauourite; and are ſuch fierce and terrible conflicts, that they toſſe his iudgement to and fro, with

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farre greater violence, then a ſtrong raging winde doth the waues of the Sea.

Gouernours and ſuch as ſit at the ſterne of a Commonwealth, and ſuch, vnto whom Kings haue deliuered vp the keyes of their heart, and hold the rudder of the Monarchie in their hands, to ſteare and ſhape their courſe, as they will themſelues, there is no queſtion to bee made of it, but that they are in great danger vpon euery ſtorme that ſhall ariſe; for looke what misfortune ſhall befall the Commonwealth, the blame ſhall be laid vpon them, and the fault imputed either to their ill counſell, or their ignorance, or their paſſion: For ordinarily (nay I may ſay continually) the misfortunes and ill ſucceſſes of Kings, and kingdomes, I ſay the cauſe of them is attributed to thoſe that are neareſt and deareſt about the Kings perſon, and poſſeſſe the higheſt places. And euery one running along with the common opinion (and few are they which haue not a ſmacke or taſte thereof) laboureth to lay the fault on his neighbour, though he be of his owne proper fleſh and bloud. And this is an inheritance which wee haue from our father *Adam*. And no man is aſhamed thereof: for we are all of vs his heires; and therefore ought to endeuour (as much as in them lies) that the peace and quiet of the kingdome bee not diſturbed or troubled in the time of their gouernment. As well for their glorie and reputation, to haue in all their proceedings carried themſelues in ſuch ſort, that no ill accident hath betided them, or any maine diſgrace; as alſo for the not ſubiecting of themſelues to the vncertaine chances of fortune, which are ordinary vpon euery alteration, and may ſerue to worke their ruine and perdition. Let therefore thoſe haue an eye (I ſay it, and ſay it againe) that are Priuie-Councellours to their King, and more particularly the Fauourite, to whom hee ſhall haue deliuered vp the poſſeſſion of his heart, that the aduice and counſell which they ſhall giue vnto him, bee good, pure, and cleare water, iſſuing from forth a pure, cleane, and diſintereſſed boſome.

Such is the water (saith *Aristotle*) as is the earth, through which it passeth; if through mynes of brimstone it scaldes and burnes, if through craggy rockes it cooles and stupefies; and if through salt-pits, it is brinish and brackish. The like iudgement may wee make of counsell; if it proceed from a breast and heart that is foule and filthy, it teacheth filthinesse; if from a pure, and cleane, honestie, and cleannesse; if from a liberall, it doth good vnto all; if from a couetous, it aduiseth nothing but gripping and wringing of the Subiect. So that counsell is figured forth vnto vs in water: which in it's softnesse, sauour, colour, and sent, is perfectly knowne, whether the myne be good or bad, through which it passeth. And such is their opinion, and that which they aduise, as is the humour that is predominant in their stomacke. Euerie one casts his eye vpon his owne particular approuing, and accounting that for iust which tends to his profit, and condemning the contrary. God deliuer Kings from such Councellours, and let them take heed that they doe not erre in their aduise, and in those medicines and remedies, which they prescribe vnto their Kings, for it is as it were a remedilesse and irrecouerable errour; and theirs must bee the fault, and many times the punishment, but alwayes the note and infamie of their Kings erring. Nor let those that haue the Kings eare, make a mockerie of my words, for it is a very dangerous and tickliſh place that they possesse. Where, to erre, is an easie thing; but to hit right, hard; and euen then, when they least thinke of it, their preciousest Iewells, their richest Mettalls, and their greatest treasures are turned into coales, and the like trash, like those moneyes of your Hobgoblins, Fairies, and *Robin* good-fellowes. It is an old thredbare saying, That ill counsell turnes to the Councellours owne hurt. *Consilium malum, consultori pessimum* (saith *Plutarch.*) And the holy Ghost, That the first, with whom ill counsell meets, is it's Authour. *Facienti nequissimum consilium, super eum deuolnitur.* For as he that casteth a stone on high,

Plut. in Moral.

Eccles. 27. 30.

high, it ſhall fall vpon his owne head; And as hee, that ſmiteth with guile, woundeth himſelfe; And whoſo diggeth a pit, ſhall fall therein; And he that layeth a ſtone in his neighbours way, ſhall ſtumble thereon: And he that layeth a ſnare for another, ſhall be taken in it himſelfe; ſo, whoſo giueth a wicked noyſome counſell, it ſhall come vpon himſelfe, and he ſhall not know from whence. Wicked counſell is like a whirlwinde, which turnes againſt himſelfe, cauſing a very dangerous tempeſt againſt that very place from whence it came. And therefore he that giues counſell, it importeth him much, that he giue good and ſound aduice; for if it bee not good, God doth permit, that it maketh for their owne great hurt and perdition. As it ſucceeded with thoſe Princes of Babylon, who ſo ill aduiſed their King againſt iuſt *Daniel*; God ſo ordering the buſineſſe, that the ſame ill that they intended againſt him, fell vpon themſelues, their wiues, and their children. When God is willing to put his armes athwart, and to croſſe wicked purpoſes, little will auaile all the ill counſell in the world, be the pate, that hatcheth it, as wiſe and as ſubtill as *Achitophels*. As it fared with that great Fauourite of king *Aſſuerus*, in that deuilliſh and malitious plot of his, which he had imagined, and contriued againſt poore honeſt *Mardochee*. But this was to him, *elſuenno del perro* (as it is in the Fable) like to the dogges dreame. There was a dogge that did dreame, that he was eating a good morſell of fleſh, and as he was chopping of it vp, vttered ſome broken notes in his language, of the great content that he tooke therein. His Maſter ſeeing him in this manner, takes vp a good cudgell, and ſoundly lamm's him; the dogge awakes, findes himſelfe deceiued, and runnes whining away. *Haman*, carried away with the like conceit, prepares a gallowes for *Mardochee*, fiftie cubits high, thinking thereon to hang him the next day; but it was his ill lucke to ſupply the place himſelfe. *Conſilia enim* (ſaith Saint *Baſil*) *quæ contra bonos mores dantur, in propria capita eorum, qui conſulunt, redundant*: Thoſe counſels that

Baſil in orat. de felicit. & prudentia.

are giuen contrary to good manners, light vpon their heads, that gaue them. And therefore let Councellours bee well aduiſed, what counſell they giue. *Ælian* reporteth that there was a very ancient Law, and duely kept in the kingdome of *Perſia*, that if any ſhould aduiſe the King to any thing that was not beneficiall to his perſon, and the commonwealth, preſently by the common Cryer, his ill counſell was publiſhed, and himſelfe taken and ſtript, and openly whipt vp and downe the ſtreets. And if there were ſuch a Law in force here with vs, and as duely obſerued, I aſſure my ſelfe, that neither Kings would be ſo often deceiued, as now they are; nor would there be ſo many vndertakers and proiectors, who impudently preſume to put into their heads, things that are ſo pernicious to their owne conſcience, and the publike good.

Supreme authoritie, Kings neither ought to giue, nor Fauourites take it. Let them (as much as they can) conceale from the world, that great grace and fauour wherein they ſtand with their King; but if there ſhall bee an impoſſibilitie in that, yet there is none in this, to let pretenders know, that all conſiſteth in the Prince; and to referre the conferring of all benefits, fauours, and graces vnto him; and to let him haue all the thankes, in matter of penſions, offices, or rewards; and to attribute vnto him, all thoſe ſucceſſes, that fall out well and happily, and all other good and prudent reſolutions; and to free him from the blame of thoſe that ſhall otherwiſe ſucceed. To treate him with much reuerence and reſpect; to beare him exceeding great loue; And together with theſe, to be wonderfull ſolicitous and carefull in all that ſhall concerne his ſeruice. All of them being notable and neceſſarie qualities, for to conſerue Fauourites in their Kings grace and good opinion, and to wedge their affection vnto them. For loue muſt bee the doore, by which the grace of a Prince is to enter. For hee muſt loue, that will bee beloued. And hauing gained it by this meanes, he muſt keepe and preſerue

ſerue it, by reuerence and humilitie in his carriage, and by being faithfull and diligent in his ſeruice. All which will be loſt by doing the contrary. And not onely ought they to carry themſelues thus towards their Kings, but are alſo to eſteeme and honour all, of all eſtates, in a fitting proportion, according to euery mans qualitie and condition. Shewing himſelfe liberall, ſolicitous, peaceable, patient, louing, kinde, and courteous towards all. All of them qualities that conſerue a Kings fauour, and gaine the peoples good will. A Fauourite muſt be modeſt, affable, and affoord a courteous hearing vnto all men. Beſides, it is a part of Iuſtice ſo to doe, and a very neceſſarie meanes to come to the knowledge of all things, and to be the better prouided againſt whatſoeuer ſhall occurre. Whereas on the contrary, to looke to be intreated, and ſued vnto, and not eaſie to bee ſpoken withall, argues a kinde of pride and ſtatelineſſe, which all abhorre. This is the doctrine of *Tacitus*, citing the example of *Seianus*, the Emperour *Tiberius* his great Fauourite; who being growne into grace with him, the better to conſerue himſelfe therein, forthwith endeauoured to fauour and pleaſure all your principall and noble perſons in their pretenſions. For in all occurrences, he conceiued, hee might expect more kindneſſe from them, then from the baſer and meaner ſort of people; whereby he came to bee loued of the one, and feared of the other; and by all of them, to be ſerued and obeyed. Inſomuch that there was not any one who did not ſeeke vnto him to mediate and make interceſſion for them, with *Tiberius*. And howbeit he was not ignorant, that hee was ſuperiour to them all, and inferiour to none, yet did he neuer grow neglectfull of his humble carriage, and reuerent reſpect to his Prince, and a due regard vnto all. Hitherto hee proceeded fairely, and went on well, and may ſerue for a patterne and example for Fauourites; but in the reſt for a *proui∫o*, and admonition for Kings. For after that ambition and couetouſneſſe entred into his heart, that conſuming moath, and deuouring worme of all

goodneſſe, he preſently procured the charge or place of *Præfectus Prætorius*, or Captainſhip of the Guard; and within a ſhort time grew to be ſo abſolute therein, that he became as it were Lord and Maſter of his Prince, and cruſht all that ſtood in his way, or might be of any impediment to his priuacie. He ſought alwayes to bee with him, leſt others might creepe in betwixt him and home, and poſſeſſe his place: ſtill humbly beſeeching him, that he would imploy him in buſineſſes of greateſt danger and trouble, and ſuch as might redound moſt to the benefit of the Emperours life and ſtate. A maine point, wherewith to oblige his Prince vnto him, and to make him the more acceptable in his ſight. For thoſe that are nearest about Kings, and are in greateſt fauour with him, ought in the greateſt dangers to ſet their foot formoſt, and to be the forwardeſt aduenturers. He did ſeeke to ouercome Art, by Art, inducing *Tiberius*, to retire himſelfe to places of pleaſure, that were remote and farre from Court, to the end that whileſt he was recreating himſelfe abroad, he might diſpoſe of him, as it pleaſed him. He told him, that ſolitude was the beſt and onely courſe for the reſoluing of the graue and weighty affaires of the Empire, which otherwiſe by diuerſion might receiue the ſame hurt and hinderance, as they were wont to haue heretofore. And what with this, and with giuing him to vnderſtand, that he would quit him of all the ordinarie cares and troubles of Court (moſt men vſually deſiring to ſhunne trouble, and to take their caſe and pleaſure) hee perſwaded him to go to *Capri*, that hee, in the meane while, might rule and gouerne all. And in the end grew to be ſo great and powerfull, and to take ſuch ſtate vpon him, that hee would not giue audience to any, reducing them to thoſe tearmes, that they ſhould ſpeake and negociate by writing, to the end that nothing might bee treated or reſolued of, without his priuie ſaying; That by reducing buſineſſes to papers and memorialls, anſwer might bee giuen vnto them with more deliberation, and better conſideration then by word

word of mouth. A meere Artifice, & cunning trick of his own inuention, to make himselfe absolute Master of all, and (which is more) of the heart of his Prince. God deliuer vs from such ambitious, interessed, and couetous Ministers, whose maine care, is their owne particular, and to heape vp riches for himselfe, and his; and make it their whole study and onely end to keepe and continue themselues in their kings grace and fauour; and to deale with their Prince, as the Ante doth with the corne, which that it may not grow againe, and that hee may the better and more conueniently make profit thereof, presently eates out the heart of it. God likewise free Kings, from this base subiection, and insensibilitie, and from men of that qualitie and condition, which desire to rule and command all. For the one cannot escape a storme; and the other must runne great hazard of being drowned therein.

Let the last aduertisement bee the example of a great Fauourite, whose name is *Aurelius Cassiodorus*, borne in the Prouince of *Calabria*, and highly aduanced in Magistracies, and Gouernments of both Empires, Rome and Constantinople; who being renowned for his cheualrie, and noble feates of armes, defended the Islands of *Sicily* and *Calabria* from many, and those very powerfull enemies. In his younger yeares, he attained to all the liberall arts, in that perfection, that hee made the present and succeeding times, to admire him. And for his great parts and abilities, was entertained by *Theodoricus*, King of the *Ostro-Gothes*; hee was receiued into his seruice, and grew so farre into his fauour, by reason of his vnderstanding, wisedome, and dextrousnesse, in treating businesses, that he first of all made him his Secretarie; in which Office, he behaued himselfe so well, that by degrees, he went climbing vp to the high Offices and dignities in the State; which in those dayes were not conferred out of fauour, but meere desert. From being Secretary, he came to bee Lord Chancellour, and Senatour in the Citie of *Rauenna*, being honoured besides with diuerse offices in the Kings Court.

After

Afterwards he was made Viceroy of the Prouinces of *Sicilia* and *Calabria*; and for addition of honour, had the title of *Patritius* giuen him, which in those dayes was in great esteeme. Hee was Lord Treasurer, and Master of the Palace; which was as it were a superintendent ouer the *Palatines*, being an order of Knights and Gentlemen, that had Offices, and other prebeminences in Court. He held the dignitie of *Præfectus Prætorio*, being as it were the second person of the King; to whom, the weightiest businesses of peace and warre were remitted: and what therein he determined and resolued vpon, was receiued as an oracle that could not erre. Though now adayes, little credit is giuen to the words of great persons and powerfull Ministers, and not without cause; for that many of them say, and do not; promise much, and performe little. And your Fauourites, which haue great both place and power about their Kings, are in such good opinion and credit likewise with the world, that they presently beleeue whatsoeuer they say; and see what they professe, is approued by them, as if it were a sentence pronounced from the mouth of a most iust Iudge: And therefore they ought well and wisely to consider what they speake, and not to inlarge themselues in words, putting those that are pretenders in great good hopes. Which if they shall not afterwards take effect, will proue to bee no other then that faire and beautifull fruite, whose sight pleaseth the eye; but whose taste killeth the body. In conclusion, this Fauourite, by round after round, clambred vp to all the honourablest offices, and greatest dignities of the kingdome. He came to bee *Consull*, which charge hee administred with extraordinary integritie and vertue. All the Magistracies, Offices, and Gouernments which he held, were but as so many steps one to the other; which the Princes, vnder whom he serued, went still increasing and augmenting. For he carried himselfe so wisely and discreetly in them, that there was not that office that hee bore, which did not make him the meritour and deseruer of another

another farre greater and better then it. And all did acknowledge and confeſſe, that his merits and deſerts were farre greater then all the offices put together which hee enioyed and adminiſtred. In thoſe whom he repreſented and recommended to his King, to the end that his Maieſtie might conferre ſome one fauour or another vpon them, he euermore had an eye to the neceſſitie of the office, and the qualitie of the perſon. Things wherein Fauourites ought to bee very carefull, when they imploy their fauour in furthering any man, as whether they be moued thereunto vpon a luſt or ill affection, or by the ſole vertue and merit of the perſon, &c. And not to thinke with themſelues, that becauſe they are in great grace and fauour with their King, that it is lawfull for them to violate the Law of Iuſtice, which ought to bee equall to all, (which in eyes, not blinded with paſſion and couetouſneſſe, ſhe her ſelfe makes it plainly appeare) and to thruſt the better deſeruer beſides that dignitie and office which is due vnto him. Which is a Law that obligeth all, for that it is a naturall obligation, and hath all the Lawes of reaſon on it's ſide, which are more powerfull then either the will of Kings, or their Fauourites. The not keeping whereof, is but a large and ſwift running fountaine of complaints and diſtaſts. The one, to ſee themſelues reiected, and excluded from publike honours: The other, to ſee them put forward, whom nature hath not adopted, nor learning, nor vertue, but either good or bad diligences. And that theſe ſhall haue preferments, and get the ſtart of other men, it is becauſe either loue or intereſt makes them to be held more worth; when as the other, onely for that they are not in the like fauour, or not ſo fit for their ends (for Fauourites fauour few, ſaue ſuch as will bee inſtruments of their wills) though otherwiſe they bee of better parts, better qualified, and of ſtronger abilities, are left vnrewarded, and are quite forgotten. And theſe that are thus made vp in haſte, and ſo ſuddenly raiſed from that nothing, which they were, to that greatneſſe wherein they are, muſt

of

of force sometimes with the same haste and speedinesse (though sore against their wills) for the auoiding of inconueniences, bee pulled downe from this their high seate, and placed in some other, that may seeme to sute better with them, wherein the like suspition may iustly bee conceiued of their insufficiencie.

This great Fauourite had likewise so good a Head-peece, and knew so well how to gouerne vpon all occasions, and all the accidents of that age, as well the good, as bad, the fortunate and vnfortunate successes of those times, that howbeit many were the changes of those Kings, yet was he still in the same height of esteeme, was superiour vnto fortune, being in all those alterations, her Lord and Master. All the Kings of the *Gothes*, whom hee serued, did him very particular fauours. And although King *Theodoricus* was a very fortunate and valiant Prince, yet did a great part of his happinesse and felicitie consist in this, in hauing his Fauourite *Cassiodorus* alwayes at his elbow, and in receiuing his good proiects, and sound aduice which (when occasion offered) were neuer wanting vnto him. That being (according vnto *Seneca*) the best part of counsell, which comes in it's due time and season; Whereas that comes too late, and without any fruit, which is not ready at hand. For occasion (whereunto wee must occurre) oftentimes betakes her selfe to her wings, and flies out of our reach, if we be not quicke and nimble in laying hold on her foretop. So that all the while that this *Cassiodorus* was in their seruice, their kingdome and Signorie continued in a most flourishing estate. So much can a man of such courage and counsell doe in a commonwealth. For with such a Ministers presence, all things stand vpright, and go well and handsomely on; but in his absence, and when he is wanting, all things go backward. For, being that all these things depend next after God, on the worth and wisedome of him that hath the managing of them; by his death or absence, they runne a great hazard of miscarrying, or suffer some great

Sen lib. 10. Epist. 72.

great hurt or detriment; as was to be ſeene in thoſe ſucceſſes of the Grecian Empire; which (no ſooner was that great gouernour *Alexander* dead, vnder whoſe protection it went increaſing, and liued in ſo much peace and ſecuritie) but it vaniſhed like ſo much froath. For of how much the more price and eſteeme peace is, by ſo much the more is it hazarded in the loſſe of thoſe that maintaine and vphold it. Now this ſo excellent and worthy a Miniſter, when as nothing was was wanting vnto him, ſaue the putting on of a Kings Crowne, refuſed it, became a Friar, and tooke vpon him the habite of the order of *San Benito*. And did ſo exerciſe himſelfe in continuall prayer and contemplation, that euen whileſt he liued here vpon earth, they held him for a Saint. And if he were ſo worthy a man in that age, ſeruing the Kings of the earth, with ſo much punctualitie and ſinceritie; it is not to be doubted, but that hee was as preciſe in his ſanctitie and holineſſe of life, when he rendred himſelfe a ſlaue, and ſeruant to his Lord and Maſter the King of heauen. For your excellent wits, which know how to make aduantage of all things, and that nothing comes amiſſe vnto them, when they are once reſolued to ſerue God, they do truly humble themſelues, and with a ſtrong determination, tread and trample the world vnder their feet, and whatſoeuer therein is, and imbrace and take hold on Chriſt. And being thus occupied in holy exerciſes, laden with yeares, hee departed out of this life, to that which was eternall, hauing inioyed ſome yeares of that quietude and abundance of peace, wherewith he did eſſay to die well, (which being ſo dangerous, ſo difficult, and darke a paſſage, too little care is commonly had therein) hee paſſed from this ſhort ſtride betwixt life and death, to the eternitie of ſuch an eſtate, as we yet know not what it ſhall be, the extreames being (as we ſee) ſo farre diſtant.

All that hath beene hitherto ſaid both in generall and particular, concerning a Monarchie, and kingdome, ſhall not be fruitleſſe, nor the time loſt, that hath beene ſpent in the writing,

ding, or shall be spent in the reading of this Treatise, if it be well and truly considered. For by the perusall thereof, Kings and Princes may come to know a thousand seuerall semblances of Ministers, and disguised countenances of hypocriticall Courtiers, and the diuers dispositions and humours, as well of the ambitious as the couetous, their affections, conditions, and naturall inclinations, whether they be by nature of great and vnruly spirits, or whether they bee by fortune put into great places. For this, without doubt, changeth man from his first estate, and apparelleth him with other particular affections; And in the true knowledge of these, consisteth the augmentation, conseruation, and good gubernation of Kingdomes, and common wealths: as also the reputation, credit, opinion, and authoritie of Kings. In a word, they may out of these doctrines, and aduertisements, collect and know how at one time the naturall dispositions, customes, and manners of the vulgar, stand affected, and how at another time those that are not so vulgar, and of so low a ranke, and how at all times to make vse of this knowledge, for the better increasing and inlarging of their power and greatnesse; and how, and in what manner, they are to carry themselues towards them, as also those other, that are to aide and assist in gouernment. For there is not any thing of more price, or more to be valued by Kings, then this knowledge of the affections, as well for the discerning those of others, as the moderating of their owne. And as it were to make a iudgement, and to prognosticate by them, the end of the actions of those that are about, and where they intend to make their stop, and set vp their rest, be they foes, or friends. And by the actions of those that are present (be they Confederates, Ministers, and dependents) their ends, designes, and pretensions. And particularly in those who cleaue closer to their Kings fortune, then his person. Points, whereon doth hang the hinge, and wherein are included and shut vp, all both the particular and generall passages of gouernment, and of that art, and science, which

which they call by the common name of Reaſon of State. And although I know for certaine, that there will not ſuch be wanting, that will laugh and ſcoffe at theſe my Politicall Aduertiſements; ſome becauſe they would be accounted the onely men ſeene in this Science, and would make themſelues the onely admired men amongſt the vulgar, and that there is not any one that is a profeſſour in that Art, that vnderſtandeth their plots and deſignes: Others, leſſe malignant, as being ignorant of the ſecrets of this Science, iudging it to be an Art, full of impoſſibilities, will not trouble themſelues therewithall, nor looke into the Myſteries thereof, as if by the effects, they were not able to iudge of the cauſes of things; and by the carriage and ſucceſſe of former buſineſſes, to deuine of the ends and deſignes of thoſe which are now on foot. And others, farre worſe then theſe, who although they come to know this truth, deny the ſame, and ſeeke many colours both for the diſgracing of it, and the Author; and for no other reaſon in the world, but becauſe they are profeſſed enemies, to whatſoeuer counſell, that is not of their owne hatching, fearing that it might quit ſomething of the glory of their ambition. And for that they will haue nothing thought to be good, but what iſſues from forth their owne braine, they blaſpheme (ſaith Saint *Iames*) and ſpeake euill of that which they know not; and not onely not admit and receiue that good which is propounded vnto them; but (as that kingly Prophet ſaith) becauſe they will neither vnderſtand nor heare it, like the Adder, they ſtop their eares with the taile of their ignorance, fearing leſt they ſhould be charmed by ſome ſuperiour wit, and better vnderſtanding. Yet notwithſtanding, fall backe, fall edge, come what will of it, I haue cumplyed with my deſire, and (which is more) with my obligation. And if it ſhall proue to be of any vſe, profit, and ſeruice, for Kings, and for the great Councellours and Miniſters of their kingdomes (which haue moſt need thereof) to whoſe ſeruice it goes eſpecially directed, and perhaps may be vſefull for thoſe

which

which are not in that nature. And though haply it may not bee auaileable for amendment, yet may it serue for a *desengano*, and dis-deceiuing of those that are in an errour. And in case it shall not take this effect, there will be no harme done by committing it to the Presse, though it bee afterwards buried in the dust, as it hath befallen other farre better things then these; And Time, which couers what is past, and discouers what is to come, will in it's time discouer this, and such other things, as are not yet come to light. And for this cause, they called *Archimedes* the Syracusan, The Inuenter of new Things; and the Register of old. And certaine it is, that amongst the Ancients, there was a great agreement and Artifice in the gouernment of some commonwealths, as was that of the *Ægyptians*, of the *Athenians*, of the *Allmanes*; and aboue all, of the *Romane* Common wealth; Which Saint *Austen* did so much admire. And men looking no further then to that which is before them, haue, in a manner, quite forgotten that, and therefore it is fit that there should bee some Remembrancer, that by putting them in minde of that which is past, they may the better performe things for the present, and prouide for that which is to come. For (as *Plato* said, though in another sence) all our knowledge is but a Recordation of things past; and therein he said well. For a great part of those nouelties, which are daily introduced, are but old things, that haue layen long in obliuion; and that which is done to day, we finde, is forgotten to morrow. And in the reuolution of time, comes (in after ages) to represent it selfe for new. And this (amongst many others) was the maine cause which moued me to write this Treatise, and which may incourage me to go on further, though I must confesse, that my penne hath out runne my intention, finding that I haue thrust my foot deeper into the stirrop, then I thought to haue done; hauing made a volumne of that, which when I first put pen to paper, I purposed should haue ended in a short and little Tract. But who can put a bridle vnto loue, or re-

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straine zeale? and more especially, when it is so naturall and proper, as that which all, and euery one, doth or ought to beare vnto his owne King and Lord. Adding thereunto mine owne particular respect, in regard of my nearer reference to his Maiesties seruice? And no small spurre hereunto, was my honest true meaning heart, and the allurance of a good conscience, whose whole studie and desire in this my labour hath beene, to hit as right as I could vpon that which might be most conuenient, for the augmentation, conseruation, reputation, authoritie, and greatnesse of Kings; as likewise, what I thought would bee most necessarie for the welfare and good gouernment of kingdomes and particular Commonwealths. For this doth depend on that. Though I conceiue there be few that thinke thereon. For most (I feare me) create onely their owne businesse, making that the principall, and all the rest accidentall. Howbeit they will not sticke to say, and publish to the world, that they onely attend the conseruation of their Kings and Commonwealths. Would to God that it might not be said of them, which he himselfe said by the mouth of that his Prophet, and Prince of his people; They honour mee with their lip, *Cor autem eorum longè est à me*: But their heart is farre from mee. God I beseech thee, of thy infinite mercy, that the hearts of Kings and their Ministers, may not be farre off from thee; nor thou from them; but that thou wilt vouchsafe to bee euermore neare at hand vnto them, and to fauour them, and direct them in all their wayes, to thy honour and glory. Amen.

Laus Deo.

FINIS.

Errata.

Page 7. line 26. *A Cetar*, reade *Acetar*. p. 13. l 31. his family, r. is family. p. 17. l. 35. denotate, r. denounceth. p 24. l. 16. *though*, r. *thought*. p. 35. l 29. wooth, r. woo'st. p. 38. l. 34. men, r. man. p. 53 l. 19. *ſapientio rerit*, r. *ſapientior erit*. p. 72. l. 20. *ſu ſtaſſes*, r. *ſus paſſes*. p. 87. l 9. wiſe. r. the wiſe. *ibid.* l. 23. of force, r. of the force p 135. l 1. Regular, r. Regalar. p. 136. l. 15. goodneſſes, r. goodneſſe. p. 251. l. 22. content to, r. to content. p. 156. l. 9. ſubiect. r. ſubiects. p. 157. l. 20. *ſa ſega*, r. *la ſega*. p. 175. l. 24. this anſwer, r. this I anſwer. p. 241. l. 18. careleſſe, r. careleſſe. p. 245. l. 3. ſeuerietie, r. ſeueritie. *ibid.* l. 32. are that, r. that are. p. 281. l. 17. impoſtoures, r. impoſtures. *ibid.* l. 32. niſtad, r. miſtad. p. 273. l. 30. cabines, r. cabinets. p. 287. l. 14. therein, r. there is. p. 294. l. 20. requencie, r. frequencie. p. 320. l. 27. or indgement, r. or that iudgement. p. 323. l. 11. inionyed, r. inioyned. p. 344 l. 12. deliaces, r. delicaſies. p. 352. l. 19. of much, r. much of.